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***Human
Rights
and
Freedoms
in the
USSR***



*Progress Publishers
MOSCOW*

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СВОБОДЫ И ПРАВА ЧЕЛОВЕКА В СССР

На английском языке

ИБ № 8576

Редактор русского текста *Л. Чернова*

Контрольный редактор *В. Арзуманов*

Художественный редактор *С. Матвеева*

Технический редактор *Е. Лунева*

Сдано в набор 2.02.81. Подписано в печать 10.8.81.

Формат 74×90 $\frac{1}{2}$. Бумага 70 г. № 1.

Гарнитура Баскервиль. Печать высокая.

Условия печ. л. 9,84. Уч.-изд. л. 10,75.

Тираж 8560 экз. Заказ № 74. Цена 70 к. Изд. № 33069.

Ордена Трудового Красного Знамени
издательство «Прогресс»

Государственного Комитета
СССР по делам издательств,
полиграфии и книжной торговли.

Москва 110021, Зубовский бульвар, 17.

Ордена Трудового Красного Знамени
Московская типография № 7 «Искра революции»
«Союзполиграфпрома» Государственного
Комитета СССР по делам издательств,
полиграфии и книжной торговли.
Москва 121019, пер. Аксакова, 13.

© Издательство «Прогресс», 1981

English translation © Progress Publishers 1981
Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

M 11002-010
016(01)-81 27-81

1203020000

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To the Reader

Our reader, we do not know who you are: whether you earn your living by operating a milling machine or whether you are a businessman. Do you smelt steel or live from missile sales, spell the word "peace" for first-graders at school or vote in parliament for a larger military budget? It is quite possible that the reader of our book is someone keenly interested in the Soviet Union, which has built a new social system based on equality, fraternity and happiness, or is one of those who invent the "threat from the East" in a bid to bring back the cold war. Or maybe our book fell into the hands of a young man fighting for the national interests of an emergent state...

We shall speak about human rights and freedoms in a country about which piles of both truthful and spurious books have been written. Many a time have its enemies predicted its demise, but its vigorous economic and social advance is gathering momentum with every passing year and this is a manifestation of great optimism.

The book provides answers to burning problems frequently tackled in TV and radio programmes, newspapers and magazines.

The focus is on political rights: what, for instance, accounts for the fact that Soviet MPs are workers and plant managers, seamstresses and ministers, collective farmers and scientists, spacemen and teachers? Or how is the broadest possible democracy ensured under a one-party system? How do we explain the

situation in which it is possible to freely criticise the activities of government bodies at a meeting or in the press? How is it that a worker is subordinate to a manager and simultaneously master of the enterprise he works at?

Social rights are also discussed here: why do Soviet people get free medical treatment and housing, why do their trade unions pay for their holiday accommodations or the state provides them with pensions?

How did the Soviet Union rid itself of unemployment and why do not workers go on strike if strikes are not prohibited in the country?

The book deals with the Soviet people's personal freedoms: among them state protection for the family, inviolability of the person and of the home, the ensured privacy of citizens and the freedom of conscience.

You will come to know how the Soviet Union solved the national question and what changes have taken place in the life of the minorities in the North and Russia's outlying areas during the years of Soviet power. But along with extensive rights, the Soviet citizens have certain duties to society and the state, which are defined by law. How are these rights and duties interrelated?

Answers to these and other questions can be found in the following chapters.

Democracy and Personal Freedom

Already at the dawn of human civilisation people thought of rational ways to organise society. They contemplated different forms of power and who should possess it.

Since society consists mostly of working people who create material and cultural values, it seems that they should govern it.

History, however, has seen entirely different things: from antiquity to the early twentieth century the propertied classes were in power in all countries. The working people were and largely remain stripped of all rights.

The Great October Socialist Revolution opened the way to unlimited democracy, and Russia became the first country where all power belongs to the people. In the Soviet Union social progress is effected for the sake of man, who is a creative worker and, besides being governed, himself directly participates in governing the country.

People's Power as Supreme Authority

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the highest body of state authority in the country, has 1,500 deputies and consists of two chambers: the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, with 750 deputies in each. The two chambers have equal rights.

The Soviet Union is a multi-national state, which is graphically manifested in the highest body of state

authority. Nations inhabiting the country have their representatives in both chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet. For instance, 480 deputies from all the Union republics, 220 from the autonomous republics, 40 from the autonomous regions and 10 from the autonomous areas were elected to the Soviet of Nationalities in 1979. All in all, 61 nationalities are now represented in the two chambers.

This is an ensurance of the equality of the Soviet nations and of their guaranteed political right to participate in running the state and society.

An analysis of the social composition of the body of deputies shows that 766 workers and collective farmers are among the two chambers' deputies, accounting for over half of the total. All social strata are represented in the Soviet parliament. Besides, 487 of the Soviet MPs are women, and 317 deputies are from 21 to 30 years of age.

Such a democratic representation was heretofore unknown in the practice of government and is associated only with the socialist system, a system in which the people led by the Communist Party run the affairs of the state.

The overwhelming majority of the deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet are not professional politicians, but their work and world outlook epitomise the policy of the party and the state. Here are some of the deputies.

Miner Gennadi Smirnov of the Kuznetsk coal basin is a deputy and member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. He owes his status to his labour accomplishments: he and his team pledged to extract 1,000,000 tons of coal a year. Virtually hundreds of mining teams have joined the drive, which

promotes the growth of the country's energy resources, the main factor in the development of the productive forces and the implementation of the social programme.

Tractor-driver Alexander Gitalov took part in the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945) and was gravely wounded while fighting the fascist invaders. The leader of a tractor-drivers' team in the Ukrainian collective farm named after the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, he was very successful at grain growing. His know-how in organising labour and in the effective use of technology have become known to many machine-operators on the farms which are building up the Soviet Union's grain reserves. His fellow-villagers and the entire people honoured him by electing him to the highest body of state authority.

Crane operator Tatyana Trofimova works at the shipbuilding plant in the city of Nakhodka (the Soviet Far East). This ordinary worker has the lofty convictions of a Soviet citizen and is aware of her responsibility to her collective of workers.

The Soviet people have great respect for those who selflessly work for the benefit of their homeland. They have served as prototypes for many of our favourite characters in literature, the arts and on the screen and the stage. These people are always in the front ranks and firmly believe that they have no means of influencing those who surround them more powerful and effective than personal example.

The Sense of Being Masters of Their Land

After they are elected to the Soviets of People's Deputies, workers, farmers, teachers, doctors and engineers continue doing their jobs. They have a sense of responsibility for the affairs of the state when they sit in parliament as well as when they assemble motorcars, make designs, mine coal or grow grain. They are always in the midst of the people, as the executors of their will.

Here is a letter written by Soviet deputies and published by the newspaper *Izvestia* on December 5, 1978. The four deputies come from Tataria, one of the 20 Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics incorporated in the USSR. They are N. Gilyazov, a mechanic pattern maker at the Teplokontrol plant, Hero of Socialist Labour and deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation; V. Dmitrieva, foreman at a clothing plant and deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic; U. Naurbiev, a motor scraper drivers' team leader in a production association and deputy to the Naberezhniye Chelny city Soviet; and S. Andronov, a machine operator at a stud farm and deputy to the Kimovsk village Soviet. As deputies to the Supreme Soviets of the Russian Federation and the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, and to city and village Soviets, they represent the interests of Tataria's working class and collective farmers, and their letter discussed problems of great importance to the state.

"The Soviet people," they wrote to *Izvestia*, "not only own the public wealth but create it and feel re-

ponsible for it. They have much to be proud of and their accomplishments are known throughout the world. All this is applicable to Tataria, whose industrial potential has doubled during the last few years. The republic built the huge Kama motor works, which operates on modern equipment, and giant petrochemical and power engineering projects. The republic's products are exported to many countries. It is, however, contrary to the Soviet people's nature to rest on their laurels and fail to see shortcomings. If there has been any negligence, we have no one to blame but ourselves: we are the masters and have to live up to the name.

"The People's Deputies have the special responsibility of setting an example at their main place of work. Their understanding of their personal and social interests blend into a sense of being masters of social production as well as the whole country.

"Deputies often have to discuss and settle diverse problems at sessions of the Soviets, at meetings of their executive committees and their standing commissions, in parliamentary groups and when receiving their constituents. Sometimes losses are due to failure to observe elementary production rules or to negligence. Loop-holes that allow waste of money should be eliminated. This is dictated both by economic laws and our position. A thrifty attitude to public wealth is necessary everywhere, and so are a more rational use of material resources and higher labour efficiency. Deputies can exert tremendous influence in this respect."

... No Western newspaper has re-printed the letter. This is a pity since workers in the capitalist countries could have seen for themselves that Soviet

workers enjoy genuine rights and possess lofty convictions. Tataria's deputies feel responsible for the national economy and know everything about the state of affairs in their republic and at their enterprises. If there are any shortcomings at the enterprises, the deputies use the press to criticise them resolutely and in a business-like manner, and urge the managers to improve the organisation of production. Even when they do their main jobs, deputies are concerned about the smooth functioning of every sector of the national economy. It is worth mentioning that the critical remarks and suggestions contained in the letter were discussed in government bodies. Eleven days later, on December 16, *Izvestia* informed its readers about the measures that had been taken. The Council of Ministers of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic considered criticism from the worker-deputies and ordered Tataria's ministries and departments to correct instances of mismanagement. Besides, all the republican ministries and the executive committees of the Soviets of territories and regions in the Russian Federation were urged to take steps to promote thriftness and to prevent production losses.

This is how the people's deputies view their role, and how the government bodies, even the highest one, respond to their suggestions. All of them represent the power of the people, work for the benefit of the people and are accountable to the people.

As you see, one can be a machine operator, a fitter or a seamstress and talk as an equal with the plant manager or with a minister. What is more, the managers can be called to account at a trade union meeting. This is the essence of true democracy.

Soviet democracy guarantees each citizen extensive political rights. If he is loyal to the interests of the people, a competent manager, active in production, he can be elected to a party committee or the plant's trade union committee, appointed head of an enterprise or a minister, or else elected by the people to the highest body of state authority.

The Poles of Democracy

True democracy in a country depends on who owns the main means of production. It is this that determines man's status in society—his rights and freedoms—and all talk about his political, economic and social rights is idle if he is not master in his own country. Socialism accorded this major right to the Soviet working people.

There is no denying the fact that capitalism advanced the concept of "democracy" if compared to, say, slave-owning Ancient Rome or medieval feudalism. There are parliaments, multi-party systems and referendums. In some countries the bourgeoisie was forced by the proletariat to pass laws allowing strikes and conflicts between the working people of a "democratic society" and the proprietors.

Workers, however, see that, although laws are issued in the capitalist system they do not guarantee rights and freedoms. The bourgeoisie had hardly established parliamentarism to give the people an opportunity to resolve their own problems. Otherwise, why should those who were "chosen by the people" vote for reduced appropriations to housing, schools and hospitals, which are badly needed by white and blue collar workers and farmers? Or else

why should the "servants of the people", MPs and congressmen in the West, try so hard to pass laws banning strikes?

All this accounts for the fact that those who own factories, mines and railways occupy seats in parliaments and hold ministerial posts.

The public wealth in the Soviet Union belongs to the people, and that is why our ministers come from the midst of the people, and our deputies are elected from among workers, farmers and the working intelligentsia. The system of bourgeois democracy, however, was designed to preclude the transfer of power to the workers and farmers. It is, perhaps, for this reason that the various qualifications restricting the US citizens' chances to take part in elections and to be elected are of a pronouncedly class nature. Take, for instance, the requirements of residence. It is the unemployed looking for jobs who, more often than not, move from one town to another. They number from 7 to 8 million in the US, and it is as clear as day that the US ruling circles find it risky to let these destitute people go to the polls. That is why no worker is represented in the US Senate, though workers constitute the majority of the US population.

When politicians expressing the interests of the people do get into capitalist parliaments, despite all obstruction, the parliamentary principles are flagrantly violated. Thus, Chile saw its Popular Unity Government, which had been installed by general election, overthrown by the fascist putschists and the big local bourgeoisie. The coup was backed by the secret services of the US, a country which boasts of its democracy. Machine-guns levelled at the Pres-

ident, tanks at the capital's crossroads, the stadium turned into a concentration camp for Communists, Socialists, trade union and youth activists and tortures and murders of the patriots, all these were used to prevent the country from carrying out extensive social and economic reforms in the interests of the working people.

In their parliaments, the capitalists do discuss how to better run the affairs of their states, but no parliament in the West has ever considered how to curb the appetite of the military-industrial complexes so as to raise the people's living standards by increasing workers' pay and bringing down the prices of food-stuffs and consumer goods.

The situation is entirely different in the socialist countries. Their parties and governments are above all concerned for the people and for improving their living conditions. The 26th CPSU Congress held in February-March 1981 endorsed the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and the Period up to 1990. These envision a steady growth of the national economy so as to ensure in the period from 1981 to 1985 an 18-20 per cent increase in the national income and a rise in average wages and salaries by 13-16 per cent. It is planned to build 530,000,000-540,000,000 sq m of housing which is provided by the state free of charge.

Workers as Leading Figures in Management

It is only natural that most of the Soviet deputies are people connected with production. Workers are the main productive force in industry, and the collective farmers represent such a force in agriculture. That is why the working people play the leading role in running the state affairs. Under socialism the land, its minerals, water, forests, banks, factories and railways belong to the people, who themselves map out plans for the country's social and economic development and pass laws, which broaden their rights in various spheres of activity.

Capitalist propaganda is distrustful of the fact that over half the deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet are workers and peasants. It seeks to convince the Western reader that fitters and milkmaids understand nothing in politics and therefore vote simply to "rubberstamp" laws which suit the ruling Communist Party. Here are some points which refute these fabrications.

First of all, no capitalist state can boast of a ruling political party that represents the interests of workers as fully as the Soviet Communist Party does. Soviet workers trust their party because it includes the best and the most advanced section of the working class. The working people widely participate in the Communist Party's elaboration of national development programmes, which mirror the government's concern about the rank and file. That is why workers wholeheartedly vote for their party's economic and social programme which they fully understand and approve.

Second, the worker in the Soviet Union differs radically from the worker in the pre-revolutionary Russia. Over 50 per cent of the working class today have a secondary education or vocational training. Many of the workers have had substantial political experience in the party, the Soviets and trade unions and have learned how to manage production and to uphold their own point of view on the government's foreign and home policies. There are quite a few worker and peasant deputies who have initiated one law or another or suggested amendments.

Third, the main thing is not who—a worker, a minister, a scientist or a trade union leader—tables a draft law for discussion by the sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR or of a Union republic, but what the deputies suggest. It is for the working people's representatives, irrespective of their occupation or post, to decide whether to vote for a proposal or against it. Miners, chemists, teachers, milkmaids and scientists are all equal working people in the Soviet Union. Men and women, Party members and non-Party members have equal rights here and want their country to develop and grow stronger, they want the Soviet people's cultural standards to improve and peace to be firmly established throughout the world.

These are the lofty ideas in the 1981-1985 state plan for the Soviet Union's economic and social development and state budget.

In the eleventh five-year period the Communist Party sets the task to steadily raise the people's well-being, to create better conditions for the harmonious development of the personality, to improve the

health-building, rest and leisure facilities and to further develop education, science and culture, that is, everything that constitutes the socialist way of life. The Soviet state pursues the policy of ensuring stability of state retail prices on basic food and non-food products.

As you see, both the development plan and the budget reflect the true interests of the people, a fact which provides another reason for the people to trust their deputies. Such is Soviet democracy.

Strikes as Soviet Workers See Them

Since truth becomes evident in comparison, and since there are countries with different social systems, let us consider another aspect of democracy.

What we have in mind are the laws that legalise strikes in some of the capitalist countries.

On the face of it, the law seems to be democratic: if the workers are not satisfied with their wages or working conditions, they can quit or go on strike. If the owner is willing to yield, trade unionists will negotiate with him and, perhaps, talk him into promising higher wages and meeting other demands of the working people.

The working class in the capitalist countries gained a lot indeed as a result of strikes. The Soviet people are happy that their class brothers succeeded in improving working conditions and getting fairer wages.

It is common knowledge, however, that such victories are not scored easily. The Western press amplly

informs us of the great privations which the workers and their families suffer when they oppose their exploiters. Strikes sometimes take human lives: quite a few strikers have been shot by the police and fascist hoodlums hired by proprietors. Sometimes, trade union activists and the organisers of strikes are persecuted: employers find pretexts to dismiss workers, depriving them of the means of sustenance. Many a strike has proved futile.

Now, can the right to strike be considered a yardstick of democracy? Why should workers resort to strikes in order to defend their interests instead of having parliaments or managers take care of them beforehand the way it is done in the socialist countries? The point is that fundamentally different aims are pursued by parliaments and ruling political parties in capitalist and the socialist countries.

In tsarist Russia the working people extensively resorted to strikes, which were a tested weapon for defending the interests of the proletariat. But when they came to power in October 1917, the situation changed radically. When the bourgeois Provisional Government headed by Kerensky was toppled, new leaflets were distributed at the factories and plants of revolutionary Petrograd (now Leningrad), Russia's capital at the time. The leaflets did not come as a surprise: they had been spread before and called upon the workers to oppose the yoke of the monopolies and to fight exploitation with large-scale strikes. The leaflets that appeared on the second day of the revolution did not call for strikes: the working class was now the collective owner and master of all the national wealth. Workers' committees began running enterprises seized from proprietors, so strikes lost

their meaning. Now the leaflets called upon the workers to do their jobs properly and to rally around the government of the workers and peasants.

There is no Soviet law to ban industrial action, but Soviet workers do not strike. Could it be that everything is in perfect order at our factories and plants? Or perhaps, there are no conflicts or disputable questions between workers and managers at Soviet enterprise? Of course there are, but still the workers do not strike.

We asked Antonina Pokhmelnova, assembly worker at the Second Moscow Clocks and Watches Factory and member of the Presidium of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, to explain the situation.

"Why should we strike?" Antonina was surprised. "We can settle all problems with the managers without that. Anything can happen of course: a worker, a shop superintendent, or even a manager may do wrong. One may be hot-tempered, another, striving to meet planned targets, may overlook people's needs or the law banning overtime, and so on. This does not mean much, because if there are conflicts with managers, our trade union committees have enough power to uphold the working people's legitimate interests."

Antonina opened the *Soviet Union* No. 9, 1980. "Have a look at this. About 6,174 managers censured and 146 of them removed from their posts in 1979 alone at the request of the trade unions for having violated labour protection regulations and labour safety rules."

Soviet workers have no need to strike against their plant director because he is just another member of

their work collective. Like the rest of the workers, he is a rank-and-file member of their trade union organisation. The factory does not belong to him personally, and he is only running it on behalf of the state. That is why he cannot disregard the interests and opinions of his workers.

Socialist Enterprise

It is only natural that few directors of Soviet firms and factories or heads of railways and mines would want to take issue with the trade union committee. Indeed, they have common interests—to improve production, raise its efficiency, increase deductions to public funds and as a result more fully meet the working people's cultural and material requirements. What is more, the trade union committees are formed of people well-versed in production and technology. As a rule, their proposals or objections are justified from the economic point of view and conform with Soviet laws.

Antonina Pokhmelnova told us a typical story.

"At a trade union meeting we were discussing what to do in order to raise the output of clocks. I'd like to quote here only one of numerous proposals because I believe it shows how the workers' opinions are valued in the USSR. My friend, assembly worker Lyudmila Ataulina, suggested that we do without the assembly line. Of course, everybody was surprised: was it possible? I remember the shop superintendent asked the chairman of the meeting (who was our fitter) to give him the floor immediately.

"What are you going to use instead of the assembly line?" he asked. Indeed, at the time the assembly line was considered (and is still considered) indispensable for intensive industrial production, the clock industry included. But Lyudmila stood her ground: the assembly line imposed a certain rhythm, which kept the worker under constant strain. Without the enforced rhythm people would assemble clocks quicker and better, while those who were still unable to work quickly and efficiently would be given help. Lyudmila had calculated the time to be spent on every operation, and the meeting discussed it and came to see her point. The managers also endorsed the initiative, which made labour less monotonous and more efficient. Both the workers and the factory stood to gain."

The Soviet workers regard the five-year plans of national economic and social development as their personal concern. The Communist Party uses these plans to orient the working people towards the improvement of economic factors and the quality of work. This course stems from the Soviet economic strategy, which aims at a consistent growth of the people's well-being. The working people have ample opportunity to show their initiative and socialist enterprise in pursuing this course.

Socialist enterprise motivates the economic efforts of the workers' teams and aims at quickening the pace of production, improving its quality and cutting costs. We shall quote one example—a drive initiated by the construction workers at the Nurek hydropower project (the Tajik SSR). When a little more than a year remained before the first unit of the Nurek hydropower station was to start oper-

ating, it turned out that some of the project's suppliers, namely the Ordzhonikidzeabad house-building combine and the Dushanbe precast concrete factory, were behind the operations schedule. It was then that eight construction workers' teams and the debt-or-factories undertook joint commitments and sealed them with an agreement.

Precast concrete was supplied and assembled in time. The success inspired the construction workers, who began establishing closer contacts with other factories: the Kirov turbine factory (Kharkov), the Urals heavy electrical machinery works (Sverdlovsk), the transformer factory in Zaporozhye, the hydro steel structure plant just outside of Moscow and the electrical equipment factory in Leningrad. The clearly stated common tasks inspired the construction workers and the suppliers and helped speed up the construction work.

Similar cooperation has become common practice today at many of the Soviet projects, with the construction workers establishing mutually advantageous contacts with enterprises closely connected with them. The experience of many years has proved the initiative to be effective, and it is becoming an economic principle followed by construction organisation.

Socialist enterprise entails no grave consequences, such as unemployment or curtailment of personal rights and freedoms. On the contrary, initiative, better skills and creative technical activity are the source of improving management and production processes.

Socialism gives every worker ample opportunity to use his or her knowledge, experience, talent and managerial abilities for the benefit of society.

Ivar Kreuger Grossly Miscalculated

When in 1932, the Soviet Union was laying the foundations of the socialist economy, the newspaper of the Moscow ballbearing plant (which had just been put in operation) published a curious letter from the Swedish millionaire Ivar Kreuger, who had come to Moscow as a tourist and visited the plant before its inauguration.

"...They have built workshops on the marshes and fitted them out with the world's best machinery. They have installed hundreds of American Blancharts, van-Normans, Cincinnatis and Ajaxes, dozens of German Pittlers, Gasenklevers and Schüttes and Italian Fiats. Supposing they have done all that... Money buys anything you wish. But the northern savages have never heard the French proverb: 'To digest stones, one has to have a stomach of iron.' Mind you, a stomach. This is where history begins. The Bolsheviks believe that history favours them. They maintain that they are shaping history with their own hands and think they can ignore the progressive laws of culture. They want to take progress by the scruff of the neck, give it a shake, saying: 'Serve us well! We have no time to wait.' Nonsense! It is not enough to acquire Pittlers and van-Normans, they must also have people capable of operating them. Where are they going to get such people?..."

Such people were nevertheless found in this very country, at the plant in question. Worker Anatoly Gromov, who had built the ballbearing plant, a giant project of the first Soviet five-year plan,¹ was made

¹ The first five-year economic development plan was adopted in 1929 and was fulfilled in four years and 3 months.

its manager. Fitter Alexei Viktorov, now Secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, also started his career there.

Victor Polyakov, Minister of the Automobile Industry, was previously director general of the motor works in the town of Togliatti on the Volga. He started out as a fitter in 1930, but continued studying. His work in party and trade union organisations taught him how to deal with people and manage a working team. Today's minister has worked as a technician, foreman, laboratory chief and shop superintendent.

Alexander Shokin, formerly a manual worker, is now Minister of the Electronics Industry, the twentieth century's foremost industry. Seventy per cent of the Soviet ministers and the State Committees' chairmen began their career as peasants or workers. The rest are medical people, teachers and engineers, who enrolled at higher educational establishments right after graduating from secondary schools as distinct from those who began working as soon as they left school. Both secondary and higher education in the USSR are within the reach of every Soviet citizen.

We do not know whether this book will be read by Kreuger's successors, still we would like to emphasise that the Soviet Union has set up a coherent system of training personnel for all sectors of the national economy. All our children attend schools free of charge.¹ It costs the state 1,700 roubles to put one child through ten-year secondary school. There are 45,400,000 schoolchildren. It takes 2,500

¹ Secondary specialised and higher education are also free.

roubles to train a youngster at a technical secondary school, whose total student body amounts to 4,700,000. The state annually allocates an average of 1,000 roubles per student to train designers, engineers and economists at higher educational establishments, which are attended by 5,000,000. In 1979 alone, 47,700,000,000 roubles were spent on schooling and training of personnel for the national economy at higher and specialised secondary schools. The level of literacy in the Soviet Union is the world's highest, and the Soviet system of training personnel fully meets the requirements of the speedily growing and most technically advanced industrial and agrarian sectors of the economy as well as of science and culture.

Education and labour merge in the integrated process of building communism and ensure the Soviet Union's success.

At the same time as it broadens social rights and freedoms, the Soviet government imposes certain duties on the Soviet citizens, such as the duty to work. Are the two concepts of freedom and obligation compatible? Can a person be free if he or she has to submit to discipline or obey certain rules? Does it not mean that a person is still not completely free?

We cannot imagine how socially useful creative work can be evaded, since the individual stands to gain from it in socialist conditions. Don't construction workers feel happy when they build two extra blocks of flats next to a completed one hundred-flat house or aren't farmers glad when they have taken in a double grain crop because they help others.

A private employer concerned with his narrow, egoistic world and deprived of the great joy of genuine human contact does not find satisfaction in his work. If a person avoids opportunities of making people happy and if he appropriates the fruits of another's labour, he is not free in the full sense of the word. Indeed, could we call it freedom when someone has the chance of getting richer because other people are not free?

**The Sun's Light
Cannot Be Covered
with the Palm of Your Hand**

Not every resident of the capitalist countries comes to visit the USSR and not everybody can see our country the way it really is. Nevertheless quite a few do come here both on business and as tourists. Here is what they say about the Soviet Union and its people.

Pedro Clavijo, correspondent of the Colombian newspaper *El Espectador*:

"The Soviet people teach their children to respect other people's work and tell them that all work is honourable and gratifying. It is brought home to the children that a person's social status depends only on his or her attitude to work and that the state they live in becomes better thanks only to the contribution made by individuals separately and jointly. That is why one of the most honourable awards for the Soviet people is the title of Hero of Socialist Labour. People accorded it enjoy particular respect, affection and esteem. Many tourists asked me if such glorification of work in the USSR

was not used by ideological propaganda to make people work better and more efficiently. Yes, I answered, the glorification of work is indeed a means of stimulating better production, but it serves the whole country, the entire people, the nation's future and the coming generation rather than a handful of exploiters, capitalists and millionaires. The Soviet working people know that they get a lot, in exchange for what they give, including housing, free education for their children, guaranteed holidays for themselves, free medical care, medicines and old-age pensions. Apart from that, cultural values have been placed within their reach. Soviet society was the first to give human beings what they lacked throughout the preceding history. Refusal to admit this is the same as trying to cover the sun's light with the palm of your hand".

Giancarlo Eramo, Italian journalist:

"Now that I have covered 25,000 kilometres of Soviet territory, I will try to differ from my colleagues by abstaining from hasty and categorical statements. In Siberia people make an effort, and quite successful at that, to give a 'human face' to nature itself, so as to end with old prejudices and fresh fabrications about that part of the world. These people are trailblazers who are hard as flint. They have come from all over the country because of high wages, but primarily because they wanted novel experiences and an opportunity to take part in the planned development of an area, considered the richest in this rich country... Instead of the tent camps of prospectors, modern cities with a half-million population mushroom around giant industrial complexes with the most advanced equipment and technolo-

gy. One encounters enormous educational centres seething with activity instead of children huddled around the only teacher of a loggers' or miners' settlement. Instead of uncouth adventurers, one meets people (young for the most part) with high intellectual abilities. The area boasts of a high percentage of scientists and experts. Soviet women are employed in all industries and at all levels, representing a majority in some spheres and a minority in others. In industry, including the Siberian enterprises, they account for about a half of the entire workforce and frequently hold rather responsible posts: the crew commander of the plane I flew from Moscow to Siberia was a woman and the control board operator at the Bratsk hydropower station turned out to be a very young girl..."

"Soviet power is not a miracle-working talisman," Lenin wrote. "It does not, overnight, heal all the evils of the past—illiteracy, lack of culture, the consequences of a barbarous war, the aftermath of predatory capitalism. But it does pave the way to socialism. It gives those who were formerly oppressed the chance to straighten their backs and to an ever-increasing degree to take the whole government of the country, the whole administration of the economy, the whole management of production, into their own hands."¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, Progress Publishers, Moscow, pp. 248-49.

Democracy in the Sphere of Production

A bourgeois journalist, wrote after a visit to the USSR, that every talented Soviet worker, who has made inventions or proposed innovations, is sure to become a manager of a plant or a firm, if he has not been made one already.

Such promotion is only natural and there are quite a few examples of it.

But in no society can all workers become managers. What is important, however, is that everyone, irrespective of his position, should feel responsible for production. It is essential that smiths, chief mechanical engineers, electric welders, shop superintendents, weavers, automatic machine-tool designers, cleaners and managers all feel that they enjoy an equal right to guaranteed employment and pay, to paid holidays, to retirement pensions, to allowances for temporary disability and so on.

The rights and freedoms of the Soviet citizens are respected by all state bodies, public organisations and officials. The law guarantees rights to everybody who honestly performs his or her duty to society, regardless of the job one holds. Socialism knows no privileges or exceptions and gives everybody from a turner's apprentice to a minister the opportunity to be equal in society. All these principles have been set forth clearly in Soviet laws. Here is one example.

The government of the Byelorussian SSR gave the republican Minister of Assembly and Special Construction Works an official reprimand for the violation of safety measures at enterprises under him. The action was prompted by the republican council of

trade unions which drew the attention of the republic's managers to labour safety precautions in all industries.

In accordance with the Soviet Constitution, the trade unions, which are a part of Soviet society's political system, submit proposals to the government, which is obliged to examine them. This is always done when it is a matter of improving the workers' living and working conditions as well as safety measures. Now back to the above-mentioned case of Byelorussia. Following trade union interference and the discussion of the issue by the Byelorussian Council of Ministers, the Ministry of Assembly and Special Construction Works introduced large-block assembly of equipment so as to make the spidermen's work easier.

As it is done in other Soviet republics, enterprises in Byelorussia extensively use what has come to be called "three-stage" control of safety engineering and production hygiene. The trade union initiative has been recognised as an important system of measures geared to improve working conditions. The following are the three stages mentioned above.

The first stage—the foreman and the trade union's public inspector check the work places, equipment and tools. This is done every day.

The second stage—the whole shop is inspected by the shop superintendent and the chairman of the labour protection commission of the shop's trade union committee. This is done once a week.

At the third stage the plant's chief engineer and the labour protection commission of the plant's trade union committee check the observance of safety measures and hygienic standards at the plant. This is carried out once a month.

The "three-stage" control is only one form of trade unions participation in settling production problems, in particular, the problem of consistently improving working conditions.

The working people's rights and genuine freedom are chiefly determined by their right to participate in managing state and public affairs.

In deciding state affairs, socialist democracy relies on a wide network of public organisations, with the trade unions featuring prominently among them. Trade unions represent the working people in all government and economic bodies. The right has been legalised by the Soviet Constitution. Labour and production are the main sphere where trade unions develop socialist democracy.

Let us analyse labour relations within a work collective. In the Soviet Union all personnel problems, including employment, promotion and dismissal, are decided with the participation of the trade union organisation. No manager can fire a shop-floor or office worker without the consent of the trade union committee.

A worker can sometimes be dissatisfied with such things as monotony of work or a youngster may prefer to work with his age-mates rather than with "veterans" or else a person may see no prospects of advancement at a given enterprise and wishes to quit. Trade unions participate in settling all these problems. Why should a worker want to leave his plant? Could his wishes be satisfied so that he need not leave his plant? What should be done at the shop, sector or team so that workers could perfect their skills? These are problems tackled by the management and primarily by public personnel departments.

Trade union opinion is also taken into consideration when the managers consider the problem of promotion. This is required by Soviet labour legislation. The trade union committee expresses its opinion as to which of the workers should be appointed foreman or team leader and which of the engineers and technicians should be made sector or shop superintendent or even assistant manager and the management has to reckon with its opinion.

Another important matter is the category given to a worker. It determines the kind of work he is going to perform, whether he will like it, and finally how he will be paid and honoured for it. This problem, too, is decided by the shop superintendent or foreman jointly with trade union representatives.

Soviet law vests great powers in the trade union committees, which determine whether a team leader or a manager is responsible for the violations of labour legislation, of labour safety rules or of the conditions of a collective agreement, as well as for red tape and neglect of the workers' demands. The fact that workers, operating through their trade union committee (and without resorting to strikes) succeed in having their manager dismissed indicates who is the master here. Conversely, when the head of a company in a capitalist country dismisses workers without the local trade union's consent, and often over its protests, this is evidence of the bankruptcy of bourgeois democracy.

The right to work, which has been legalised by the Soviet Constitution, is ensured by the socialist economic system and the planned development of the productive forces, which preclude crises and unemployment. This is how the Soviet Union realises a major

principle of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted by the United Nations. The Declaration states that every human being has the right to work, to a free choice of a job, to just and favourable conditions of work and protection against unemployment.

Socialism offers economic equality in the sense that there is no exploitation of man by man and that the people are united by the social ownership of the means of production. There is no group in the USSR that is privileged to run production: society is interested in having every worker participate in the management of production, since public well-being and the future of our children depend on his efficiency and public activity. This right has been recorded in the *Fundamentals of Labour Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics*. "Factory and office workers," the document states, "shall participate in management of production through the trade unions and other mass organisations, people's control bodies, general meetings, production meetings, conferences, and other forms of public activity open to them."¹

Modern production is characterised by constant expansion, rising rates of output and the application of new technology. These complex processes are managed by directors and their staffs, but management by one man is complemented in the Soviet Union by democratic forms of management providing for the participation of the shop-floor and office workers in it.

Not only the directors but all employees strive to

¹ *Fundamentals of Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, p. 125.

meet the target figures ahead of schedule, to speed up technological progress and to improve the quality of products. The public effort and those forms of organisation enabling workers to take part in management on a wide scale are particularly effective in tapping new reserves and in bringing them into play.

Socialist Emulation as Motive Force of Economic and Social Progress

A striving after perfection and creativity are innate features of human beings. The example of the foremost workers at Soviet plants shows that when every worker has a job according to his or her abilities and inclinations, the whole collective stands to gain and the individual gets a chance for all-round development. Socialist emulation is the practical embodiment of the noble desire to work creatively, to improve skills, to help fellow-workers, and to share know-how. This healthy competition between workers has nothing in common with capitalist rivalry.

Socialist emulation in the USSR came into being virtually at the same time as the Soviet system. It was started by the workers and took on various forms, gradually involving millions upon millions and becoming widespread in 1929. Workers at the Krasny Vyborzhets Plant in Leningrad were the first to conclude an agreement on emulation, which is now a historical document kept in the plant's museum. In it the workers pledged to "volunteer efforts in order to raise labour productivity by 10 per cent".

It is symptomatic that the first agreement should have been made in 1929, when the Soviet workers and peasants set about implementing their first five-

year economic development plan. It was aimed primarily at creating a powerful national industry and collective farming.

Acting as true masters of their plant, the Leningrad workers decided to work more productively and called upon other work collectives in the country to do the same. They tried hard to keep machine-tools from standing idle and used every minute of the working hours. In the final analysis this attitude to work, to their plant and to the state, reflect the new character of the Soviet working class.

In March 1929 the workers of the Krasny Vyborzhet called upon all Soviet workers to join in the drive and received a vigorous response. A nationwide socialist emulation drive was launched.

Socialist emulation is based on principles, which were elaborated by Lenin, who summarised the experience gained by the broad masses in building a new society during the first years after the Great October Socialist Revolution. Lenin set forth the ways and means which would enable the working people to display their abilities and potentialities in developing socialist production to the fullest extent. He believed it essential that the competition should be made public, that its results should be compared, the best experience emulated and mutual assistance ensured.

Socialism for the first time made it possible to launch the emulation drive on a wide scale and involve most of the working people in activity which helps them to show their worth, develop their abilities and reveal the new talents abounding among them.

It has become common practice for the Soviet people to sum up the results of their work at the end

of the year and tell each other about their accomplishments in building communism. Let's leaf through the newspapers of 1979. They were full of good news:

"December 4. The Omsk tyre works production association achieved the 1976-1979 target figures in output and sales ahead of schedule. More than 400 workers of the association fulfilled their individual five-year plans in four years."

"December 6. Miners at the Zyryanovskaya mine (the Karaganda coal basin) attained the planned annual figures ahead of schedule, supplying the country with 2,375,000 tons of coal, 130,000 tons of it above the planned output. The mechanised team of face workers led by Mikhail Reshetnikov put out one million tons of coal since the beginning of the year."

"December 11. Steel makers of the ninth open-hearth furnace at the Azovstal steel works (in the town of Zhdanov) fulfilled the plan of four years of the five-year period, producing every fourth cast at a high speed. They supplied national economy with 21,000 tons of steel over and above plan."

"December 15. Workers at the Soviet Union's first off-shore oil-extraction project on the Caspian Sea (Neftyaniye Kamni) marked their thirtieth anniversary today by reaching the target figure of the fourth year of the five-year plan period."

"December 19. The many-thousand strong collective of the Leninabad silk factory met their four-year target figures ahead of schedule. Trading organisations received more than 735,000,000 roubles' worth of beautiful high quality fabrics since the beginning of the year. Tajikistan's silk-makers decided to produce over 4,000,000 metres of above plan quality fabrics before the end of the year."

"December 21. The Gubkin farm (the Belgorod Region) for breeding 54,000 pigs was put into operation before schedule. Big dairy units are to start operating at the Dzerzhinsky collective farm."

"December 25. Shortly before midnight yesterday, the third unit of the Sayano-Shushenskaya hydro power station began generating commercial electricity and was connected to the Siberian power grid. The unit's planned capacity exceeds 700 megawatts."

"December 26. Moscow's underground construction workers lived up to their commitments by overcoming difficult hydrogeological conditions and putting into operation the Gorkovskaya underground station ahead of schedule. This is a wonderful New Year gift for Muscovites."

"December 28. TASS reports that the country produced 400,000 million cubic metres of gas in 1979, which is more than was planned for the four years of the five-year plan period."

Such is the power of competition between workers, competition in ability and skills. These were but a few December reports, and thousands upon thousands of them were made during the year. This is only natural, because the fact that the third turbine at the Sayano-Shushenskaya hydro power station was put into operation ahead of schedule means that 170 other collectives supplying equipment to this major technological project were working with great dispatch.

With every passing year the socialist emulation drive evolves new forms, attracts new groups of blue- and white-collar workers and stimulates the workers' activity. The Soviet people are interested in accelerating the rates of fulfilment of the state plans and

of their voluntary pledges. Emulation becomes particularly intense when the country marks its revolutionary festivals and important social and political events. Such was the case when the nation was preparing for April 22, 1980—the 110th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, the leader of the October Revolution of 1917 and the founder of the Soviet state.

Lenin's ideas inspired generation after generation, and for the Soviet people his name is associated with the destiny of their country and with their own lives. The image of the leader and the revolutionary strategist epitomises the ideal Communist personality. The Soviet people were as good as their word: 4,474,000 workers and 6,058 enterprises marked Lenin's anniversary by reaching their five-year target figures. The accomplishments of individual workers and work collectives add up to the accomplishments of the entire Soviet people, who are masters of their country's riches.

Winners and "Losers"

Of course, there are winners and losers in every competition. But socialist emulation does not develop a sense of inferiority because workers know who deserved to win and who was not industrious enough. Every member of the work collective regards the winner as an extension of his own abilities. Innovators among workers are similar to virtuoso artists, says Irina Changli, the well-known Soviet sociologist and expert in the socialist emulation. Innovators are imitated and emulated.

The best and the most skilful win competitions,

while those who lag behind may feel pardonable envy, which urges them to look for ways of eliminating shortcomings. If he is aware of the reason why he lags behind, a worker would be able to ensure top performance. If, however, a person is unable to find the reason his fellow workers would, beyond a doubt, help him. Socialist emulation is based on comradely assistance. This readiness to lend a helping hand is one of the most valuable moral characteristics of the Soviet people, which is manifest most often in production relations.

The individual's desire to assert himself takes different forms in different social formations. The Soviet people, for instance, have no use for the capitalist concept of human dignity, which is measured by material prosperity rather than ability and love of work. Under capitalism some people associate self-assertion with amassing maximum profit in terms of money, class privileges or prestige.

Other laws and morals govern life in the Soviet Union. Human dignity here is determined by one's work and personal abilities rather than by property (difference in wages is comparatively small) or social status (all class privileges have been abolished by the revolution). If a person works conscientiously, honestly and creatively, he is in the public eye and enjoys public acclaim.

The Soviet Union values the work of all people—ministers, plumbers, miners, scientists, artists, and collective farmers. Those who show top performance earn more and find moral satisfaction in public respect.

Winners in socialist emulation are our national heroes. Books are written and films are made about

them. They represent the working class in the USSR Supreme Soviet, in the republican highest bodies of state authority and in local Soviets. These steel-makers, truck-drivers, fishermen, loggers, weavers, teachers, electrical engine drivers, milling machine-operators and milkmaids are given equally high awards with the leaders of the Soviet Union and of the Communist Party, scientists and generals who headed armies during the war against fascist Germany.

Stands with portraits along the streets of any Soviet town make foreign guests ask for explanations from their interpreters. They are Boards of Honour with the pictures of foremost workers who are models for enterprises, districts, regions or the whole country.

To sum up, socialist emulation is a conscious production effort of the masses which does not result in ruin or loss of a job. Winners volunteer help to their "rivals" and fellow workers in such competition. They get the acclaim they deserve, and everyone strives to emulate them. Guaranteed work gives the Soviet people a chance to use their creativity and is simultaneously a civic duty and obligation.

"Collective Directors"

Permanent production conferences are another form of the workers' participation in managing factories and plants. These public bodies are elected for the period during which a given factory trade union committee is in office (for two years) and are subordinate to it. They are called permanent because they function during and in between official sessions. Special sections of the production conference regularly offer pro-

posals to improve the factory's operation which are then subjected to general discussion. There are 139,000 permanent production conferences country-wide and they are often referred to as "collective directors". They have been set up at 106,000 plants and factories and in 33,000 major shops, and have 5,924,000 members. Among them are shop-floor and office workers, engineers and managers, all those who have particular interest in production affairs and want to improve them and the payment system, people who can give an expert technological and economic opinion of whether it is expedient to introduce into production the proposals submitted.

Participants in production conferences discuss pending problems related to labour, payment, conditions of work and the improvement of workers' skills. This representative body considers draft state plans (both annual and five-year plans) and also proposals to introduce new technology, social and cultural measures. It expresses its opinion of every clause of the collective agreement before it is examined at a general meeting. The recommendations it adopts are introduced into the factory's operation programme at orders from the director.

Trade union meetings also enable workers to take part in running production affairs. Their agenda includes problems of interest to the entire collective, such as the automation of labour-consuming and difficult operations, housing construction and the organisation of countryside nurseries and kindergartens, Young Pioneer health-building camps and sanatoria. They analyse occupational traumatism and the ill-conceived or hasty orders from the director and his deputies.

One wonders if what the people say at their meetings is not forgotten under the strain of daily living. If the collectives are headed by officials and activists of high principle, the meetings carry great authority with the workers and the management. Soviet labour legislation gives great powers to the workers' meetings, whose resolutions are usually implemented, even if it entails additional appropriations of money and material resources, which are to be found by the managers. When the workers' proposals are ignored or treated in a bureaucratic way, the trade union committee has the right to call the culprits to account and even remove them from office.

The solution of many problems raised at a meeting depends on the trade union committee. Because they are expected to express the interests of the factory and office workers, the trade union committee members should be responsive and guided by principle. When, however, rank-and-file union members see that the elected trade unionists disregard their proposals and criticism, they do not re-elect those people. Democracy in management allows the working people to exercise effective and timely influence on the style and methods of work, used by the trade union officials.

The Hobby of Twenty Million Workers

Technical creativity is closely connected with the development of social production and it is encouraged and organised. Those who have technical and scientific inclinations, join the scientific and technical societies which now have a membership of 9,317,000. Those with appropriate abilities for improving pro-

duction processes join the society of inventors and rationalisers. The majority of its 11,113,000 members are workers. Both societies are sponsored by the trade unions.

What is it that attracts people to public activity and especially to such a complicated activity as creative technical work?

Take, for instance, the workers belonging to the society of inventors and rationalisers. Those who have never tried their hand at it express surprise that after a five-day working week people are not fed up with lathes and machines, joiner's benches and screws, screwdrivers and blueprints. But more than 20,000,000 regard technical invention as a favourite pastime, just like stamp collecting or growing flowers, doing puzzles or hiking. Incidentally, quite a few of them love music and go in for sports, but things technical remain their main passion. This hobby reinforced by the sense of responsibility for their factory or plant does a tremendous amount of good. In 1979 alone the society's members came up with 4,032,000 proposals. The economic effect of amateur technical creativity is measured by the 6,264,000,000 roubles saved through the utilisation of inventions and rationalisation proposals.

Seemingly small innovations save such impressive sums of money and what is more, the process of improving production methods never ceases. What was good yesterday is already outdated today. Since experience and the search for new techniques are indispensable for advances in production public technical organisations help engineers and designers to do the job. Technically-minded people are to be found in every work collective, and it is gratifying for every Soviet citizen to see his idea materialise and contribute

to progress in socialist economy, thus making labour easier and more economical.

Creative work, including amateur creativity, is encouraged in the Soviet Union, and useful proposals bring in moral as well as material reward.

There is no threat of unemployment from an innovation, which accelerates production, raises the quality of products and reduces production costs. The Soviet government's primary concern is to ensure employment. Every worker who may become redundant from a technical innovation is offered another job with equal working conditions and payment. This is the duty and obligation of the management and the trade union committee. The solution of the problem is greatly facilitated by the drive to master several trades, which is widespread at Soviet enterprises. The general education received by the workers in combination with on-the-job training courses and seminars [all of which are free] allow every worker to become handy at many trades. The Soviet system encourages all-round development of the personality, especially in production.

Socialism was the first in history to set itself the task of developing versatile creative thinking in every individual rather than in separate groups of people—society's "intellectual elite". Developed socialism provides favourable conditions for the all-round development of the individual, but the problem is not solved automatically. These favourable conditions should be utilised in the system of education and in the family for the development of the personality in conformity with temperament, aptitudes and inclinations. The all-round development of the individual does not signify the standardisation of personality. The same job is

performed differently by different people: just like musicians, turners, doctors and engineers have different styles of work and different amounts of success.

Public ownership of the means of production allows the workers to be true masters of all the riches and makes them directly interested in multiplying these riches. This is a major condition of the development of the individual. Modern Soviet workers have furthermore had general education and professional training, and millions combine work with studies at secondary technical and higher schools as part-time and extra-mural students. That is why there is a growing number of those whose hobby it is to study complicated drawings and diagrams, to improve machines and equipment and do research.

Not Rights Alone

We do not claim that there are no problems in Soviet production. At the risk of sounding primitive, we would like to remind our readers that the bread we eat has to be grown, clothes and footwear have to be made, the house we live in also has to be built by somebody. Aircraft, trams, buses and cars have to be designed and manufactured, which means that people are obliged to make everything they desire and need for life. It takes some effort, both mental and physical, to produce foodstuffs and consumer goods which represent the good things of life. For this reason society establishes the rights and duties of its citizens. The Soviet citizens, too, have their rights and duties that are, above all, connected with work, the civic and public duty, and the aims of the Soviet state.

The new Soviet Constitution of 1977 states: "The

supreme goal of the Soviet state is the building of a classless communist society in which there will be public, communist self-government. The main aims of the people's socialist state are: to lay the material and technical foundation of communism, to perfect socialist social relations and transform them into communist relations, to mould the citizen of communist society, to raise the people's living and cultural standards, to safeguard the country's security, and to further the consolidation of peace and development of international co-operation" (pp. 14-15). Every Soviet citizen enjoys full rights in tackling these problems.

People feel free in the Soviet Union, because the state guarantees extensive rights to the members of socialist society. This encourages high social activity.

Society guarantees extensive rights and freedoms as well as certain material and cultural benefits to the Soviet people, but it requires every citizen to perform certain duties, which are recorded in the Soviet Constitution:

"Article 60. It is the duty of, and a matter of honour for, every able-bodied citizen of the USSR to work conscientiously in his chosen, socially useful occupation, and strictly to observe labour discipline..."

"Article 61. Citizens of the USSR are obliged to preserve and protect socialist property..."

"Article 62. Citizens of the USSR are obliged to safeguard the interests of the Soviet state, and to enhance its power and prestige.

"Defence of the Socialist Motherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the USSR.

"Betrayal of the Motherland is the gravest of crimes against the people."

"Article 65. A citizen of the USSR is obliged to re-

spect the rights and lawful interests of others persons, to be uncompromising toward anti-social behaviour, and to help maintain public order.

"Article 66. Citizens of the USSR are obliged to concern themselves with the upbringing of children, to train them for socially useful work, and to raise them as worthy members of socialist society. Children are obliged to care for their parents and help them."

"Article 69. It is the internationalist duty of citizens of the USSR to promote friendship and cooperation with peoples of other lands and help maintain and strengthen world peace."¹

The use of their rights and strict performance of their duties by Soviet citizens improves their political culture and makes them increasingly interested and active in tackling affairs of the state, big or small. Everyone is aware of the meaning of his work. The poet Vladimir Mayakovsky put it:

*Isn't that jolly—
proud, I smile—
there's
my bit
in the work
of my country!*

The rights and freedoms enjoyed by the Soviet people stimulate their conscious efforts for the benefit of society. This work edifies the individual, makes him proud of his creative efforts and fosters social optimism.

¹ *Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, pp. 50-52.

Social Rights and Personal Freedoms

People have long been wondering about the social meaning of the millennia-long evolution of mankind and the individual. They believe that it lies in unity and emancipation. Mankind must first of all free itself from the oppression of the elements, and secondly from the rule of the strong, from the shackles of slavery and exploitation and from all sorts of oppression. It must unite human strength and intellect to make Nature and scientific and technological progress serve the social progress. These lofty goals have become attainable under socialism, which guarantees social rights and personal freedoms.

How Has Man Benefited from Socialism?

Having built socialism, the Soviet people established a society, which creates all the necessary conditions for the all-round development of the individual and for genuine freedom.

Socialism has done away with all types of oppression and given people the right to work, education, rest and leisure and ensured full employment.

Socialism has made the working people confident of the morrow, of a happy future for their children and of security in old age.

Socialism paves the way to the solution of the outstanding problems mankind faces in modern times. History has shown that socialist society alone can forever rid humankind of the threat of a global

war of destruction and promote peace on the basis of friendship, equality and fraternity among all nations.

The Soviet people have built developed socialism, and everything they have is the product of their work.

When the Soviet people set about implementing their first five-year plan half a century ago, the destiny of the revolution depended mainly on the creation of an advanced production potential, which is indispensable for the socialist transformation of town and countryside and for ensuring the country's security. The USSR lagged decades behind the leading capitalist countries in the scale of production and the level of its mechanisation. Contemporary Soviet economy is a coherent complex of advanced and diversified industry and of large-scale and highly mechanised farming. Soviet industrial output is now greater than that of all the West European countries taken together, although their population is 33 per cent in excess of the Soviet Union's.

The problem during the first five-year-plan period (1929-1933) was to train skilled local personnel. The first task was to eliminate the illiteracy of almost one half of the population, illiteracy being a grim legacy of tsarism. Measures carried out in the course of building socialism now made it possible to complete the transition to universal secondary education: hundreds of technical secondary and higher technical schools have been opened. Schools were attended by people of all ages and trades, and the system of public education expanded with every passing year. The skilled personnel that the Soviet Union now possesses are capable of solving the most

complicated problems of developing production in the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution. The number of graduates of higher and specialised secondary schools employed in economy exceeds 25,000,000, which is 48 times more than the USSR had in 1928.

A major accomplishment of the October Revolution was the establishment of the principles of social equality and justice, which were set forth in the first Constitution of the workers' and peasants' state.

The political equality of all citizens, all classes and social groups and their equal right to take part in managing state and public affairs are not empty words, but Soviet reality. The historic achievements of the Soviet people include their right to work, that is, to guaranteed employment and pay in accordance with the quantity and quality of their work, and not below the state-established minimum. There are also the rights to rest and leisure, to health protection, to maintenance in old age, in sickness and in the event of disability, to education and to housing. All this has become the Soviet way of life.

Socialism has ensured genuine equality and friendship between Soviet nations and nationalities who are united by the community of their vital interests, ideology and aims. On the basis of the drawing together of all classes and social strata and the fraternal cooperation of all nations and nationalities, a new historical community of people has been formed—the Soviet people.

A major result of the Soviet social development is the formation of a new way of life which is radically different from the capitalist way of life. If private property and the economic, political and na-

tional oppression it breeds tend to separate people, public ownership of the means of production and the entire system of social relations in the Soviet Union succeed in uniting the working people. Life in socialist society is governed by the humane principle: Concern on the part of all for the well-being of each and concern of each for the well-being of all.

If social, political and economic upheavals, mounting unemployment and encroachments upon the working people's rights in the capitalist countries breed fear of the future and pessimism, the steady advance of the Soviet economy, consistent development and improvement of socialist democracy and the Communist Party's unceasing concern for the interests of the people evoke profound confidence in one's future. The Soviet people clearly see their future and consciously march towards it.

Conscientious and socially useful work and its results determine the position one occupies in Soviet society. Whatever their occupation or social standing, the Soviet people have many remarkable qualities in common. These qualities include collectivism, respect for the people they live and work with and the ability to sacrifice personal desires when it is a matter of public interest. Among them also are interest in the concerns of society, a sense of responsibility for the affairs of one's collective and of the entire country, high culture, political awareness and great life force. All this taken together gave a new socialist content to such a human quality as love for one's homeland, which the Soviet people organically combine with socialist internationalism, friendship between the peoples and fraternal solidarity with the working people throughout the world.

Concern About Man as a Socialist Principle

The Soviet people see the socialist system as something very natural and cherish it as their country and homes. At times we take for granted the benefits that had been gained by the socialist revolution.

Take, for instance, the flats with which the local Soviets provide every family free of charge. Rent, gas, electricity, the water supply and the telephone actually cost more than the three or four per cent of their budget that families pay to the state every month.

The Italian journalist Giancarlo Eramo, who had visited the Soviet Union, wrote about health care among other things:

"The Italian system of hospital benefit funds could borrow many ideas from the Soviet medical care system. When a person falls ill, he naturally goes to hospital, where he is treated free of charge. If the patient can stay at home, a doctor visits him and prescribes medicines and treatment, also free of charge. One can go to the chemist's and buy everything one needs for a negligible sum of money. Medical treatment is free and medicines are cheap . . .

"Soviet medicine has been in the vanguard of progress for a long time: medical research centres are numerous, and advanced methods of treatment are applied virtually everywhere. Hospitals may not look very attractive, but their equipment is always up-to-date. The number of hospital beds grows quickly. Here is one example: Armenia had 4,000 hospital beds

in 1940, the number is 25,000 now. This is worth thinking about."

On leaving the hospital, the person gets sick benefit at his place of work, which often amounts to the sum of his wages.

... Seeing a very young married couple smilingly pushing a pram you wonder: Could they be students, or workers, or postal clerks or salesmen?

Anyway, it is not very important what they do and what career they pursue, since this does not affect the future of their child in any way. Their social standing is determined by the quality of their work.

The state attends to part of the problems related to child care and upbringing. While the parents are busy either studying at an institute or a technical secondary school or else working, their children attend nursery schools, where they are fed, taken for a walk and made to take a nap according to the daily routine. Children are regularly examined by doctors and given classes by experienced teachers. The services cost their parents a very small, token sum.

Children are the future of every nation, and the children of the socialist country are the future of Soviet society. This was once again forcefully emphasised by the 26th CPSU Congress, which was held from February 23 to March 3, 1981 in Moscow.

Almost simultaneously the two most powerful states on the globe, the USSR and the USA, made public their plans for the coming decade. They have a direct bearing on the rights and freedoms of people living in the opposite social systems.

The US plans aim at militarisation and the unbridled arms race, and can lead to a new war. The world's richest country sets itself no task of solving

the social problems facing the nation: the social expenditures are being cut by tens of thousands of millions of dollars. The US Administration pursues an extremist course when it proclaims entire subcontinents the "zones of US vital interests". Washington's home and foreign policy is shaped with this aim in view. Take, for instance, the state's defence budget, which is to reach 178,000 million dollars in 1981 and 226,000 million dollars in 1982. The 200,000-strong "rapid deployment force" is being speedily formed, and the plans are being made for an undisguised move into the oil-rich regions of the Persian Gulf and the Middle East. Military bases and strongholds are being set up in the vast areas adjoining the Indian Ocean, where US naval presence is being radically increased. The United States presses the countries of Western Europe to deploy on their territory US medium-range nuclear missiles and cruise missiles. The US military depots inside the country and on territories of its allies are filled with mass annihilation weapons, including poisonous gases, toxins causing smallpox, poliomyelitis, fever, T. B., typhus and cholera and also micro-organisms capable of destroying human life, plants and food stocks.

Now, can the world be at peace under the circumstances? Can people inhabiting, say, the "zones of US vital interests" hope to enjoy their rights and freedoms? Their very life is being jeopardised, and they are not sure of their future...

The Soviet Union, on the contrary, plans to continue its peaceful construction and its struggle to ensure a firm and lasting peace on earth. "We intend to concentrate all our efforts in two related

directions," Leonid Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress. "One is the building of communism, the other is the strengthening of peace." The decisions of the Leninist Party demonstrate its tremendous sense of responsibility to the Present and the Future, to Man and Time. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union leads its people to the morrow that begins today.

Have a look at the 1981 state budget, with its overall expenditures amounting to 298,000 million roubles. Investment in the national economy amounts to 159,900 million roubles, spending on social and cultural development to nearly 102,000 million roubles, including 36,800 million roubles on social security, and defence expenses remain at the 17,000 million roubles mark, the same as in the last few years.

The party's policy for the eighties aims at making production vitally interested in using more quickly and efficiently the advances made by Soviet science so as to further improve the people's well-being. The course implies improvements in all aspects of life—consumption and housing, culture and rest and leisure, working and living conditions.

As before, social problems in the Soviet Union are being resolved through developing the socialist economy. During the coming five years, the industrial output is to grow by 26-28 per cent and the agricultural output by 12-14 per cent. This will allow to increase the national income by 18-20 per cent, the real per capita incomes by 16-18 per cent, including a 13-17 per cent rise in wages and salaries, and to raise payments and the benefits to the population from the social consumption funds approximately to an average of 500 roubles per capita a year. It is

planned to increase the incomes of families with children and to improve the living conditions of labour veterans and of veterans of the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945). State allowances and pensions are also to be raised.

The Communist Party aims at levelling out the living standards of all the social strata. The problem is being gradually resolved as the socialist economy makes further advance. In this way the Soviet people's social rights and freedoms are being ensured.

One of the basic rights of the Soviet citizens is the right to work, which Soviet society guarantees to every one of its members. The new Soviet Constitution adopted in October 1977 records these rights and their guarantees: the right to choose their trade or profession, type of job and work in accordance with their inclinations, abilities, training and education. Understandably enough, such a guarantee calls for material and other kinds of security.

The friends of the Soviet Union are heartened by the fact that there exists a state, which has liberated the working people from poverty, unemployment and illiteracy. Not so the capitalists, their ideologists and the press. Because they wish to cast a shadow over the tremendous social achievements of the Soviet people, some capitalist apologists explain the high level of employment in the USSR by alleging that the men's wages are not high enough to maintain their families. This explanation was true to a certain extent during the first post-World War II years, when real incomes were 3 to 3.5 times lower than they are today. In 1960 average wages amounted to 80 roubles and 60 kopecks, while the figure by early 1980 stood at 163 roubles and 50 kopecks.

However, the incomes of the Soviet working people are not made up of their wages only. People receive free schooling and college training and higher education, at the expense of the public consumption funds, they get free medical treatment and receive various allowances: disability and retirement pensions and so on. Students are paid stipends. The state subsidises the maintenance of children in pre-school child care centres. On average public consumption funds account for more than 25 per cent of the family budgets. During the tenth five-year plan period these allowances and benefits grew to 30 per cent, 116,000,000,000 roubles were appropriated for the purposes in 1980. Public consumption funds help to level out the social standing of different sections of the population.

It is in the interests of the Soviet system that people should be able to choose a job to their liking so as to serve the society in the best possible way.

How Unemployment Was Eliminated

The Soviet Union also had unemployment, which was inherited from tsarism, and the older generations of the Soviet people remember the difficult time.

Three years after the Great October Socialist Revolution the Soviet economy employed 7,900,000 persons less than before the revolution.¹ Foreign military intervention and the Civil War put many an enterprise out of action. When the invaders were

driven out of the country and the war came to an end, unemployment swept the state, and millions were confronted with the complicated problem of how to live.

The Communist Party which had led the working people to the revolution and liberated them from exploitation, worked out a programme for rehabilitating the national economy. The task was to restore mines so that they would produce fuel and plants so that they would manufacture machines, consumer goods and food. Because of its capitalist encirclement, the country could expect help from nowhere and had to rely on its own strength.

Rehabilitation was the order of the day, and the difficult work was carried on month after month, year after year. The year 1922 saw 1,235,000 persons already rebuilding factories and plants, and two years later another 3,686,000 workers joined the workforce. By 1927, the Soviet economy already employed a labour force of 10,743,000. Even so, 1,576,000 unemployed were registered in the country, before the first five-year plan was adopted early in 1928. Their number declined sharply as the five-year plan began to be implemented.

The first five-year plan period opened great horizons for socialist economy. The Party proposed an imposing economic development plan for 1929-1933. This was the first comprehensive programme, which scientifically substantiated the rates and proportions of the country's economic and social development. Industrial output was to grow 2.8 times and that of heavy industry 3.3 times.

The plan's guidelines were industrialisation of the country and collectivisation of agriculture, both tasks

¹ The country's population was 159,200,000 in 1917.

being interrelated. Industry could not develop without a powerful food base and rich sources of agricultural raw materials, while farming, which included 25,000,000 small peasant holdings at that time, could not progress without machines and fertilisers. Specialists, trained personnel and unskilled labour were wanted everywhere. The construction of national industry and the transformation of the countryside were carried out almost simultaneously. Major projects were being launched, such as the Dnieper hydropower plant, the tractor works on the Volga (Stalingrad), the Urals steel works and Komsomolsk-on-Amur, a town in the Soviet Far East. Coal mines, machine-building plants, oil fields and wood processing, textile and food factories as well as rail and motor ways were built. The Soviet Union was in the grips of an economic blockade staged by the imperialist states. The country had to produce everything itself: lathes and tractors, coal and oil, cars and railways. And the primary task was to employ people in production and give everyone a socially useful job.

During the first five-year period (1929-1933) construction and rehabilitation of industry increased the ranks of the working class by an average of 3,196,000 a year. The labour force in farming also grew considerably. By late 1930, 15,400,000 persons were gainfully employed and unemployment was done away with forever. The Soviet people were enthusiastically building plants and factories, as envisaged by their five-year plans. Documentaries made at the time show that people trod concrete with their bare feet, preparing the mixture for the Dnieper hydropower plant. Spades and wheelbarrows were used to build the Fergana canal and the Turkestan-Siberian railway line.

The country was rapidly building new technology of its own, in this way speeding up construction work and expanding production. History proved that crises, unemployment and inflation had been forever barred from the Soviet economy.

Some Western authors seek an explanation of all this in the fact that economy is regulated by the state. But the economic activity of the state cannot be viewed separately from the entire system of social relations. It is not the state which frees socialist economy from acute conflicts. It is the elimination of the economic and social basis for such conflicts—private ownership of the means of production—that radically changes the role of the state in developing the economy and gives it opportunities to ensure a harmonious economic development.

The Soviet people did not discover these laws empirically but with the help of Marxism-Leninism and scientific communism. From the first days of its existence, the Soviet Union steered towards socialism and has been developing society according to a plan, which conforms with the working people's tasks and objectives.

Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, wrote: "...we now have an opportunity which rarely occurs in history of ascertaining the period necessary for bringing about radical social changes; we now see clearly *what* can be done in five years, and *what* requires much more time."¹

More rigorous planning for the nationwide expansion of production and social benefits were required to satisfy all the people's material and cultural de-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 483.

mands. Such plans were law for all sectors of the economy and bodies of authority and became deeply rooted in Soviet life. This specifically distinguishes Soviet planning from that of the capitalist countries. Only public ownership of the means of production enables the state to advance the socialist economy on a planned basis and to use the results in the interests of the working people.

After private ownership of the means of production was abolished, it became impossible to derive profit through exploiting other people's labour. The collective work of all members of society and the individual work of each now form the source of income.

The socialist economic system and its planning have proved their efficiency: the USSR has become the world's second industrial power. It has outstripped the three major European countries (West Germany, Britain and France) taken together in the majority of economic indices, though each of them was far ahead of the Soviet Union when it started building its socialist economy. The Soviet Union now puts out one-fifth of the world's industrial product.

The dynamic and stable development of social production in the USSR allows the state to steadily increase appropriations for social needs. Soviet laws systematically broaden social rights and benefits in the country.

Tractor Driver
Pasha Angelina
and Lord Beaverbrook

From books and from what we are told we know that estates and privileges existed in Russia prior to 1917.

Those who belonged to the tsar's court were held in great esteem, and privileges were given to the gentry and the landlords, the clergy, the merchants and senior officials. The privileges were granted by the autocracy therefore they served the tsar and not the people.

There are hundreds of thousands of managers of various ranks in the Soviet Union, but they do not form a caste. It is a typical characteristic of the Soviet way of life that a son of a large plant manager becomes an industrial worker after leaving school, while a worker's son with a college diploma who does well at his job, becomes shop superintendent, assistant manager and then manager.

We may hear arguments that a gifted person is bound to make his way in the world. For example, Mikhail Lomonosov, a peasant's son from a remote northern province of Russia, became the founder of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Demidov, the son of a Russian serf, had an enterprising spirit, succeeded in getting enough money to start a business in the Urals, and made millions. Even if they were gifted few people could overcome all social and official barriers in tsarist times and become scientists or managers. Socialism, on the contrary, assists the development of all members of society rather than of separate individuals and helps uncover and apply the abilities every person possesses.

Socialist society values people for the work they do for the benefit of society rather than for their social or family background. Tractor driver Pasha Angelina, for instance, was twice awarded the title Hero of Socialist Labour. Here is what she wrote about herself in her memoirs:

"In one of the issues of the *America* magazine I read about a gentleman, who, according to the author, 'had made good'. The gentleman in question was Lord Beaverbrook. It occurred to me what if the "World Encyclopaedia of Autobiographies" could publish my autobiography under the letter 'A' and that of the lord under the letter 'B'.

"Lord Beaverbrook, date of birth, date of marriage; comes from a poor family, started as a pedlar to become a lord and owner of many newspapers.

"Pasha Angelina: date of birth, date of marriage; comes from a poor family, started as a farm labourer to become deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR."

"The readers of this could ask: 'Thanks to what?... Indeed, it is impossible to understand and appreciate the life of the Soviet people and mine as well without such an explanation. What is important, however, is that my life is no exception, and if Mr. Beaverbrook rose from the midst of the common people to become a lord, I rose together with the people..."

The Soviet people enjoy freedom in their work: they can choose the job that best suits their desires and inclinations. They have been exercising this right since the first days of Soviet government. Pasha Angelina started her working career in the thirties, and the practices of those years have sound economic and social roots. We would like to cite another example in this connection.

The Korsakov family has been working in the Verty Put collective farm (the Ryazan Region) since the day it was established. The elder Korsakovs were among the first to drive tractors and to volunteer to fight at the front in 1941. The family have always been in the front ranks. Mikhail, who belongs to the

younger generation of the Korsakovs is the district's best team leader. His crop yields amount to almost 30 centners from a hectare. His brother Vladimir grows good potato crops. The sister Antonina is a milkmaid. If we started praising the Sharapovs and Avdonins, who are closely kindred to the Korsakovs, we would have mentioned the entire collective farm, which keeps growing richer by their efforts. Maria Korsakova, who will soon be 100 years old, says proudly: "I have borne and brought up 10 children, almost all of whom work on our collective farm. I am happy to have 52 grandchildren and 35 great-grandchildren. The youngsters go to school, the adults work. Many have been decorated for their work on the land and for their wartime bravery."

An individual rises and makes his way in the world together with the rest of the nation! This is an accomplishment of socialism.

As a state of the working people, the Soviet Union creates every condition for each worker to feel himself master of his enterprise and of his country.

Alexander Busygin is one of those whose name resounded throughout the world in the thirties. The smith from the Gorky motor works introduced new methods of work and improved labour productivity five-fold. A short while later his name was coupled with that of Alexei Stakhanov, a well-known miner, and became a symbol of the new attitude to work. Busygin, who grew up in a workers' collective, exemplified the new type of worker. Here is what he said about himself, his work and his plant.

"In 1930 I was a peasant boy who could hardly read and write. I came to the construction site of the Gorky motor works with a knapsack on my back. To tell

the truth, I came to earn a little money, but it turned out that I had come to a veritable school of life. I came to realise that my destiny and that of my country were inseparable, and when the plant was built I took a job at the forge shop. There were not enough blacksmiths, and I had to operate a steam hammer. I was not very good at the job at the beginning and had rejects, but the parts that were good immediately went to the heat-treating shop and from there to the car assembly line. Soon my output was 215, after a while I produced 400 parts, then 600 and 800... Then the day came when I managed to forge 1,001 parts during a shift, and my record became known to the entire country. Later on I beat my own record several times over. We worked with incredible enthusiasm, striving not to waste a second, and this ensured our success. We advanced together with our plant. I was elected deputy to the Eighth Extraordinary Congress of the Soviets, to the Eighteenth Congress of the Party. After that I was given an opportunity to study..."

Soviet workers raise problems important enough to be considered by the government. In his article published in the newspaper *Izvestia* Busygin wrote: "It is time we made economic bodies, work collectives and public organisations more responsible than so far for spreading the useful initiatives of the workers. This matter of state importance should be backed by the force of law."

The word "master" can mean different things. Before the revolution we also had "masters of factories and plants", who ran them to further their own interests. The word "master" acquired a new social meaning in the Soviet Union.

To be master of one's country means above all to

work honestly and conscientiously, to take active part in the economic, political and cultural life of society and to be intolerant of shortcomings, mismanagement and all sorts of injustice.

To be master of one's country means to be exacting to oneself and to others and to be courageous, to follow principles and to be an expert in one's field.

To be master of one's country means to feel responsible for one's work collective, for one's homeland, for the cause of communism and for peace throughout the world.

This is how the Soviet people see the role of master.

Two Worlds—Two Ways of Life

The Soviet people possess the remarkable ability of analysing their work and its results. We compare the economic and social development programme of each new five-year plan with that of the preceding plan. We compare our life with that of our fathers and grandfathers, and are heartened by the achievements of our socialist homeland.

Western propaganda maintains that the Soviet standard of living is lower than that of America. However, only a small part of the Americans have high living standards, while the Soviet Union ensures an increase of social benefits to all its citizens. This represents a major advantage of the socialist system.

Living standards, evidently should not be judged by the number of suits a person can buy for his wages or by the amount of time he has to work in order to buy a car. The USA stands first if we go by these

indices. But the USSR is ahead of the USA in terms of more essential daily needs.

For instance, rent is 12 times lower in the USSR than it is in the USA. Many services are expensive in America, while the Soviet people get them at a modest price (public transport, utility services, the theatre, cinema and so on). Transport fare in the USSR is 5 times lower than in the USA, and services also cost from two to three times less. The present-day average Soviet diet is richer in calories: 2,800 calories per person a day in the USA, and 3,200 in the USSR. The Soviet Union was the first in the world to introduce free medical care and free secondary and higher education for the entire population.

Retirement age is lower in the USSR than it is in the USA, and there are 47,000,000 pensioners in this country. Men in the USSR can retire at 60 and women at 55, whereas in the USA the retirement age is 65 both for men and women. In contrast to the USA, the Soviet working people do not have to contribute towards retirement pensions.

Prices for the staple foodstuffs and consumer goods are stable in the USSR, as is the cost of services. Regardless of distance subway fares have not changed since 1935, when the first underground line was opened in Moscow. According to the *Economist* magazine, fare in the London Tube went up 12-fold during the same period. The Soviet Union has not changed the price of power and gas in more than 30 years and rent has remained the same for more than 50 years.

The Soviet working people's real incomes and material well-being keep growing since wages are steadily raised while prices remain stable.

The advantages of the socialist system showed themselves very clearly in 1972. Although the USSR was hit by the worst drought of the century and failed to take in the planned amount of grain, potatoes and vegetables which, in its turn, had an adverse effect on cattle-breeding, the retail prices of agricultural produce remained the same. The government's approach to the problem was quite different from that adopted in the capitalist countries: it bought grain abroad but did not raise the long-established prices on bread.

Figures are convincing when we compare two sets of facts. Comparisons, however, do not always reveal the social aspect of such facts. In 1978 the doctor-patient ratio in the USA was 1:457, in the USSR it stood at 1:282. We would like to quote facts which show the steady growth of the Soviet health care system as well as its profound humanitarianism.

A village postman in one of the remote mountain areas of the Soviet Union had a heart attack. His wife telephoned the district centre, and a helicopter brought a doctor and a nurse who administered first aid. The sick man had a rare disease, and the doctor realised that only an expert who lived hundreds of miles away from the mountain village could operate the man. The doctor then sent for an ambulance plane, and the patient was taken to a medical research centre and operated upon by one of the country's leading surgeons. He soon recovered and resumed his work. The postman did not have to pay either for calling in the doctor and the plane, or for the operation and his stay at the hospital. Such expenses, as well as all those connected with medical treatment and with the vacations and education of the Soviet people are covered by public consumption funds.

"I Was Moved to the Bottom of My Heart"

People sometimes find themselves in unforeseen and very dramatic circumstances. This can happen in any country, but the question is what social opportunities are open to people. The story we would like to tell here is about Fiona Cummings, the daughter of an English miner. When Fiona was 2 years old, the teachers at her nursery school noticed that she lagged behind other children in development because her eyesight was deteriorating. The case was diagnosed as pigment degeneration of the retina, and the girl's eyesight deteriorated rapidly. Eye specialists thought there was no point in treating the girl and predicted complete blindness. Fiona's despairing mother spared no effort or money and visited Britain's best eye specialists. She lost hope of a cure and only wanted to preserve what vision was still intact. By December 1974 Fiona's eyesight was so poor that she could only grope her way about so she started learning to read by touch. Complete blindness seemed imminent. In late 1974 Fiona's mother, Mrs. Eileen Cummings, and her daughter left for Moscow, the USSR, having overcome considerable difficulties. Their departure was shown on three channels of the British TV. One of the journalists asked them: "Do you seriously expect the Russians to help you, when nobody in the West could do so?"

The patient was carefully examined in Moscow and a leading eye specialist at the Helmholtz Institute of Eye Diseases, Prof. L. Katsnelson, consulted the case. Fiona underwent the first course of treatment with a new Soviet drug.

In September of 1975 she was given another course of treatment and then a third course in April-May 1976, as a result of which the progress of blindness was checked. The girl's general condition improved markedly. Eyesight was restored to 20 per cent in the left eye and to 40 per cent in the right one. Fiona was transferred from the school for blind children to a school for children with poor eyesight and could soon read elementary texts and ride a bicycle.

Hundreds of letters began pouring in to the Cummings' address from sick people and their relatives all over the globe: Australia, West Germany, Holland, Austria, New Zealand, Zambia and Canada, all of them asking how they could get to the USSR for treatment.

Fiona underwent the fourth course of treatment in Moscow in November-December 1976. During her 4-week stay there the girl was offered an entertaining cultural programme, including visits to the theatre and the circus, the figure skating competition for the *Nouvelle de Moscou* prize, excursions to Zagorsk and Arkhangelskoye and many other places.

Before leaving Moscow, Mrs. Eileen Cummings warmly thanked the Soviet miners' trade union for offering medical treatment to her daughter and also the Soviet eye specialists for their kindness and sympathy. "I was moved to the bottom of my heart," she said. "I could not imagine people of a foreign country lending me a helping hand without hesitation and surrounding me with warmth and attention. I am particularly impressed by all this after the difficulties and obstacles I had to face at home." Had Fiona received the same treatment in Britain, she would not have been able to pay for it during her lifetime. So-

viet trade unions are essentially guided by internationalism and humanism. The miners' trade union invited the sick daughter of a worker and paid all the expenses for treatment of her sickness.

This is far from being the only case of proletarian solidarity. In the past few years 110 families of British miners spent their holidays and received treatment in the USSR at the invitation of the Soviet coal miners' trade union.

All health and holiday centres in the USSR are run by the trade unions, and it is the trade union committee of an enterprise that decides who of its workers should be the first to get resort accommodations. Every year there are more and more people vacationing at trade union-run resorts, free of charge or paying a mere 30 per cent of the actual cost of the accommodations. In 1980 alone 12,622,000 industrial and office workers spent their holidays and received treatment at the trade union health centres.

This is how the Soviet citizens exercise their right to rest and leisure, which is guaranteed by law and organised by Soviet government bodies and trade unions.

The Eleventh Five-Year Plan and the Extension of Social Rights

We, however, do not claim that all social problems have been resolved in the Soviet Union. Those that still remain are being tackled as the opportunity arises. For instance, during the tenth five-year period (1976-1980) health protection was further improved. Modern scientific achievements and new methods of

diagnosis and treatment were introduced in medical practice, disease-prevention was stepped up considerably;

the material basis of the public health system expanded throughout the country on the basis of expanding the network of multi-purpose and specialised medical institutions. In 1980 the total number of hospital beds went up to 3,300,000. Outpatients' clinics and pharmacies were built in new residential and rural areas;

the network of boarding-houses for disabled persons and the aged expanded. Prosthetic and orthopaedic rehabilitation centres for the disabled continued to be built;

the spending quotas for food and other needs in boarding-houses, maternity homes, children's and some specialised clinics and departments was increased.

We know our problems and we discuss them at all levels beginning with the workers' meetings and ending with the USSR Supreme Soviet sessions and the congresses of the Soviet Communist Party. We openly examine the past experience and plan further improvement of the Soviet people's well-being.

It is true that few Soviet citizens own cars, but public transport is within everybody's means because of its low cost. Not everyone has been given a separate flat as yet, although 149,600,000 received new flats from the state in the period between 1961 and 1978. The new Soviet Constitution declares that all citizens have the right to housing and everyone will get a separate flat with the time because the USSR is building housing on a large scale.

Every worker in the USSR is confident about his

future because he knows that his work, abilities and knowledge will be applied and properly appreciated.

Pay rises constitute a major trend in improving the people's life, and the Soviet shop-floor and office workers need not strike in order to get a rise. Wages in the USSR are raised in a centralised and planned way. Plans for each five-year period envisage measures for the steady improvement of working people's well-being.

For example, according to the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for the eighties adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress (1981), the outlays for wage rises are to amount to roughly 10,000 million roubles and the payments from the social consumption funds to 138,000 million roubles or approximately to an average of 2,000 roubles per family of four by 1985.

In the eleventh five-year period and afterwards the Soviet government will continue showing concern for improving the life of mothers and the rising generation, families with children, and newlyweds. More than 9,000 million roubles are allocated for the purposes. These funds are to be used to introduce, in 1981-1983, a partially paid leave for mothers for the care of a baby until it reaches the age of one. State allowances of 50 roubles at the birth of the first child and 100 roubles each at the birth of the second and third child are being introduced. The annual leave of working women who have two or more children under the age of 12 is lengthened by three days. There is to be an improvement of the living conditions of labour veterans retiring on pension and an increase in the minimum old-age, disa-

bility and loss of bread-winner pensions for factory and office workers and collective farmers. It is estimated that the larger state allowances to families with children and the larger pensions will increase the incomes of approximately 50 million Soviet citizens.

Socialist society does not create a "cult of consumer goods" although it consistently raises the working people's wages, creates good living conditions and sells its citizens new models of cars, TV sets or vacuum cleaners. Sooner or later individualism and private luxury lead to moral degradation.

It is the aim of socialist society to encourage public activity of its citizens and to educate them in the spirit of industriousness, humanism and internationalism. The Soviet people believe that they become richer as their national riches grow, therefore they contribute their work and talents to achieve the common aims. Those who show concern for the people around them and their needs, those who work for the development of socialist production are held in high esteem in the USSR. Such people have broad horizons and rich emotional lives, which makes them nobler and more humane.

Constitutional Guarantees of Rights and Freedoms

It is only natural that the Soviet people associate all their accomplishments in the economy, technology, science, culture and social security with the new social system. Socialism has given the Soviet people genuine rights and freedoms.

From the legal point of view the words "rights" and "freedoms" mean a legally formalised opportu-

nity for every man to choose a way of behaviour and to use the benefits he is offered in both personal and public interests. The meaning of rights and freedoms was aptly defined by Karl Marx, who said that "...legally recognised freedom exists ... in the form of *law*."¹

That is why we invite everybody who wants to know the truth about the Soviet Union and the Soviet people's social rights and freedoms to read the Constitution of the USSR:

"Article 39. Citizens of the USSR enjoy in full the social, economic, political and personal rights and freedoms proclaimed and guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR and by Soviet laws. The socialist system ensures enlargement of the rights and freedoms of citizens and continuous improvement of their living standards as social, economic, and cultural development programmes are fulfilled..."

"Article 40. Citizens of the USSR have the right to work (that is, to guaranteed employment and pay in accordance with the quantity and quality of their work, and not below the state-established minimum), including the right to choose their trade or profession, type of job and work in accordance with their inclinations, abilities, training and education, with due account of the needs of society.

"This right is ensured by the socialist economic system, steady growth of the productive forces, free vocational and professional training, improvement of skills, training in new trades or professions, and development of the systems of vocational guidance and job placement.

¹ Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Vol. I, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1974, p. 58.

"Article 41. Citizens of the USSR have the right to rest and leisure.

"This right is ensured by the establishment of a working week not exceeding 41 hours, for workers and other employees, a shorter working day in a number of trades and industries, and shorter hours for night work; by the provision of paid annual holidays, weekly days of rest, extension of the network of cultural, educational and health-building institutions, and the development on a mass scale of sport, physical culture, and camping and tourism; by the provision of neighbourhood recreational facilities, and of other opportunities for rational use of free time..."

"Article 42. Citizens of the USSR have the right to health protection.

"This right is ensured by free, qualified medical care provided by state health institutions; by extension of the network of therapeutic and health-building institutions; by the development and improvement of safety and hygiene in industry; by carrying out broad prophylactic measures; by measures to improve the environment; by special care for the health of the rising generation, including prohibition of child labour, excluding the work done by children as part of the school curriculum; and by developing research to prevent and reduce the incidence of disease and ensure citizens a long and active life.

"Article 43. Citizens of the USSR have the right to maintenance in old age, in sickness, and in the event of complete or partial disability or loss of the breadwinner.

"This right is guaranteed by social insurance of workers and other employees and collective farmers;

by allowances for temporary disability; by the provision by the state or by collective farms of retirement pensions, disability pensions, and pensions for loss of the breadwinner; by providing employment for the partially disabled; by care for the elderly and the disabled; and by other forms of social security.

"Article 44. Citizens of the USSR have the right to housing.

"This right is ensured by the development and upkeep of state and socially-owned housing; by assistance for co-operative and individual house building; by fair distribution, under public control, of the housing that becomes available through fulfilment of the programme of building well-appointed dwellings, and by low rents and low charges for utility services...

"Article 45. Citizens of the USSR have the right to education.

"This right is ensured by free provision of all forms of education, by the institution of universal, compulsory secondary education, and broad development of vocational, specialised secondary, and higher education, in which instruction is oriented toward practical activity and production; by the development of extramural, correspondence and evening courses; by the provision of state scholarships and grants and privileges for students; by the free issue of school textbooks; by the opportunity to attend a school where teaching is in the native language; and by provision of facilities for self-education.

"Article 46. Citizens of the USSR have the right to enjoy cultural benefits.

"This right is ensured by broad access to the cultural treasures of their own land and of the world that

are preserved in state and other public collections; by the development and fair distribution of cultural and educational institutions throughout the country; by developing television and radio broadcasting and the publishing of books, newspapers and periodicals, and by extending the free library service; and by expanding cultural exchanges with other countries.

"Article 47. Citizens of the USSR, in accordance with the aims of building communism, are guaranteed freedom of scientific, technical, and artistic work. This freedom is ensured by broadening scientific research, encouraging invention and innovation, and developing literature and the arts. The state provides the necessary material conditions for this and support for voluntary societies and unions of workers in the arts, organises introduction of inventions and innovations in production and other spheres of activity..."

The Soviet Constitution further records other rights and freedoms, including freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly, meetings, street processions and demonstrations (*Article 50*); the right to associate in public organisations (*Article 51*); and freedom of conscience, that is, the right to profess or not to profess any religion (*Article 52*).

The state gives protection to the family (*Article 53*), guarantees inviolability of the person (*Article 54*), of the home (*Article 55*), and protects the privacy of correspondence and telephone conversation (*Article 56*).

Respect for the individual and protection of the rights and freedoms of citizens are the duty of all state bodies, public organisations, and officials.

Article 58 of the Constitution gives citizens of the USSR the right to lodge a complaint against the actions of officials, state bodies and public bodies. Actions by officials that exceed their powers, and infringe upon the rights of citizens, may be appealed against in a court.

There is no state in the world where citizens have unlimited rights and freedoms. If a person lives in a society which wants all its members to lead normal lives, everybody should respect the rights and legitimate interests of others and be bound by duties to the state of which they are citizens. Such is the lesson of the centuries-old history of different countries and nations during which the principles of international law took shape. Thus, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the UN emphasises: "Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible" (*Article 29*).¹ This, among other things, means that human rights cannot be regarded in the absolute since they are limited by obligations to society. This is dictated by the considerations of protecting the state and each of its citizens. The exercise of their rights and freedoms presupposes due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and compliance with moral standards and the requirements of public order and general welfare in a democratic society. That is why necessary restrictions are defined by national laws and concern not only individuals but

also the powers of legislative bodies, whose actions should not violate certain human rights and freedoms. This recognised principle of democracy has been recorded in the Constitution of the USSR.

The Soviet Union has travelled a road equal to centuries of development in the little more than six decades of Soviet government. We have built a new society without parallel in history.

It is a society of the constantly advancing economy, which knows no crises, of mature socialist relations and of genuine freedom.

It is a society in which a scientific materialist world outlook prevails.

It is a society which firmly believes in its future and in the bright prospects of communism. Boundless vistas of further all-round progress are open to it.

It would not be an exaggeration to answer the question as to what socialism gave the Soviet people by saying that socialism has doubled life expectancy in the USSR. Indeed, according to the 1896-1897 census, average life expectancy in tsarist Russia was 32 years, whereas today it is 71 years.

If one throws aside all fabrications and slander about life in the Soviet Union and takes an unbiased look at the rights and freedoms of the Soviet citizens judging by actual facts, then everybody will realise that the October Revolution gave birth to a new type of democracy in Russia and exercised a tremendous influence on the development of democratic processes in the world, opening new historical prospects for democracy.

¹ *Human Rights. A Compilation of International Instruments of the United Nations*, United Nations, New York, 1967, p. 3.

The Rights and Freedoms of Soviet Women

Poets, writers, philosophers and artists of all times and nationalities glorified woman as a symbol of beauty, as a worker and mother. Socialism assisted the development of these qualities and women came to occupy a befitting place in the building of a new life.

The equality of women and men is a principle of Soviet society, one that is manifest in politics, the economy, culture and in opportunities to receive an education, vocational or professional training. We want women to develop their natural abilities, inclinations, skills and knowledge in order to be free and equal members of society. Such is the policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet government.

Nothing Is Left of the Old Laws

We live at a time when the dream of socialism has become reality and a powerful world system. Socialism in the Soviet Union gave women real opportunities for all-round development of their potentialities, for participation in public and state affairs and for prominence in all spheres of activity. The rights and freedoms of Soviet women and the part they play in Soviet society serve as an admirable example for the working women all over the world.

They admire the courage of the women revolutionaries who were among the Bolsheviks and took part in carrying through the Great October Socialist Revolution.

They admire the enthusiasm of women who joined

their fathers, brothers and husbands in building plants, roads and new towns and establishing collective and state farms during the first five-year periods.

They think highly of the valour and staunchness displayed by women during the trying years of the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945). Soviet conditions have helped women to become the active political and social force.

Lenin's prediction has come true. "The work that Soviet power has begun," he said, "can only make progress when, instead of a few hundreds, millions and millions of women throughout Russia take part in it. We are sure that the cause of socialist development will then become sound."¹

Women's rights was an essential problem in the activity of the Communist Party and the Soviet government. It was necessary to ensure equality in work because not more than half of all able-bodied women had jobs in tsarist times. Women also received lower wages than men. Before the revolution women were limited in political and civil rights and were entirely dependent on their husbands. Such was the situation in Russia's former capital Petrograd. The women's plight was even worse in the country's outlying areas. In Uzbekistan, Turkmenia and Kirghizia before the revolution and in the first years after it women were treated as slaves that could be bought and sold. They were completely illiterate and forced into marriage.

It has taken years of strenuous effort, political and even more—economic effort, to change the position of women. This arduous but necessary and

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 46.

humane mission was performed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It worked out a programme of economic and social transformations that accorded with the aspirations of the people and the vital interests of women. The Soviet Union has become the world's first state to give women legal and actual equality with men in the political, social, economic, cultural and all other aspects of life.

"Soviet power, the power of the working people," Lenin wrote, "in the first months of its existence effected a very definite revolution in legislation that concerns women. Nothing whatever is left in the Soviet Republic of those laws that put women in a subordinate position."¹

It was not only in legislation that a radical change took place: the way of thinking was also revolutionised. Contemporary Soviet women take an equal part in building a new society, and their homeland owes quite a few of its accomplishments to their selflessness and abilities. They enjoy great esteem throughout the country. You should see how Soviet people celebrate International Women's Day on March 8, when heart-felt congratulations are expressed, festive meetings are held and there are flowers all around! It is a red-letter day in the Soviet Union, which shows recognition of the part women play in Soviet society and of their invaluable contribution to the construction of socialism.

On a par with men, Soviet women enjoy all the social, economic, political and personal rights and freedoms which have been proclaimed and guaranteed by Soviet laws.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 41.

These include the right to work and receive pay in accordance with the quantity and quality of their work (Article 40 of the Soviet Constitution), the right to rest and leisure (Article 41), to health protection (Article 42), the right to maintenance in old age, in sickness, and in the event of complete or partial disability or loss of the breadwinner (Article 43) and the right to education (Article 45). They are guaranteed freedom of scientific, technical and artistic work (Article 47), the right to take part in the management and administration of state and public affairs (Article 48) and the right to associate in public organisations (Article 51).

This equality that women enjoy as Soviet citizens, workers, public figures and family members is not merely recorded in laws but is Soviet reality.

Women's equality ensures their labour and political activity in all spheres of society's life. It assisted the implementation of far-reaching economic and social plans and the transformation of a backward agrarian country with a low cultural level into an industrialised socialist power within an unprecedentedly short period of time.

Freedom from Unemployment

An individual's position in Soviet society is determined by his or her work, so the equal right to work is an essential social constitutional right that Soviet power granted to women.

We emphasise that they have an equal right to work and to equal pay for it. In tsarist Russia women were either unemployed or hired to do hard manual work, and that ugly legacy of capitalism made itself felt for several years after the revolution. Though

those years are long gone, it is worthwhile recalling them here.

Employment opportunities grew as the enterprises ravaged by the imperialist war were rehabilitated and new industries were established. Women featured prominently among those who came to work in social production. In 1922, 1,500,000 of the workforce were women, and in 1928 the figure was 2,705,000. They received vocational training and were employed in various sectors of the economy. In the course of these six years 1,141,000 women joined the industrial workforce; their number went up to 404,000 in the services and medicine and to 299,000 in education and culture.

The influx of millions of women into national economy gave a boost to production and culture. The new social conditions, which were a product of the party's policy, fostered a creative spirit among the people and opened new vistas for building socialism.

The planned development of social production which is characteristic of socialism ensures ever greater well-being for the people, while the steady build-up of the economic potential makes it possible to expand personal rights and freedoms. These objectives underlying the Soviet five-year plans have no parallel in the world. Planning became a powerful organising and mobilising force in building communism and provided tangible proof of the superiority of the socialist system over capitalism.

The years that followed furnished convincing testimony of this.

In the first place the national economy advanced at an unprecedented speed: the five-year plan, which foreign experts expected to end in failure and called

the Bolshevik dream, was carried through in four years and three months. In April 1932, the production output of heavy industry exceeded the pre-war level more than three times and that of 1928 more than twice. Construction work was launched on an unheard-of scale: 1,500 projects were built in five years.¹

Secondly, sizable qualitative changes were effected in the course of the five-year plan period. New branches of Soviet industry emerged in a historically short period of time. The country developed its own ferrous metallurgy and tractor, automobile and aircraft building industries as well as extensive chemical production.²

By the second year of the five-year plan period the Soviet people were free from the threat of unemployment. Advances in socialist production made it possible to eliminate unemployment in general and to ensure full employment for women.

They were given unlimited opportunities for work in all economic sectors in accordance with their abilities, calling and trade.

Equality in Work

In tsarist Russia women were mainly employed in the textile and garment industries. The construction of socialism offered women jobs in these industries, where female labour traditionally prevailed, as well as in machine-building, the electrotechnical and instrument-making industries and other economic sectors.

¹ *The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Moscow, 1959, p. 445 (in Russian).

² *Ibid.*

Women today operate the most complicated machinery. Production undergoes drastic changes as a result of the scientific and technological revolution, which provides sophisticated machinery for shops and laboratories, research centres and management. Automation excludes arduous and low-efficiency work and makes women's labour easier.

This raises the problem of education and training to operate machinery. Soviet women study at schools and institutes, at their places of work and at the expense of the enterprises that employ them. In this way they exercise their right to receive an education and choose a trade or profession in accordance with their inclinations and training. Every year 8,500,000 women improve their skills, and more than 1,760,000 women workers are trained in new trades without quitting work. Hundreds of thousands of young girls get free training at vocational and technical schools. Measures to improve the skills of working women and to ensure their promotion are always included in the social development plans of enterprises and in collective agreements.

Labour, which is to their liking and earns good wages, forms not only the basis of the women's independent economic position but also gives them profound moral satisfaction, a sense of dignity and a chance to develop their aptitudes. Socially useful work encourages social and political activity of women.

Figures give an eloquent picture of the scale of female labour. In 1928, 2,795,000 women were employed in the economy, in 1940 the figure stood at 13,190,000 and in 1979 at 56,900,000. In other words, their share in the total workforce in these

years was 24, 39 and 51 per cent respectively.

The socialist system of production accounts for such high employment of women in the economy. In the Soviet Union 53.5 per cent of the population are women, who are interested in the growth of production, and, aware of their duty, participate in its development equally with the men. Equality firmly establishes women as citizens and builders of a new life.

Laws Protecting Female Labour

To say that women have equal opportunities for work does not at all mean that Soviet women are viewed as a source of labour. The state and the trade unions show special concern for women and grant them various privileges. Equality in work does not mean that women have to mine coal, to unload barges with watermelons or to work in the health hazardous conditions of a chemical factory. Legislation prohibits employing women for arduous labour, and no manager dares break it.

In the Soviet Union women are given only jobs that they are strong enough to perform, jobs that accord with their interests and training and do not prevent them from getting married and raising children. For instance, 190 out of the 1,165 major trades that are taught at vocational and technical secondary schools, are not recommended or downright forbidden for young girls by labour legislation. The trade unions, their technical inspectors and medical people see to it that the regulation is strictly observed.

It isn't every country that has a list of jobs which

are partially or entirely forbidden for women. In the Soviet Union such a list was endorsed by the State Committee for Labour and by the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

The scientific and technological revolution radically changes the conditions and nature of female labour. The ninth five-year plan period (1971-1975) produced nearly 20,000 types of new machines, installations, instruments and means of automation. About 2,000 major industrial projects were put into operation, including hundreds of enterprises of the light and food industries.¹ Thousands of old factories and plants were modernised on the basis of new technology and equipment, with priority given to industries requiring special skills. More than 17,000 units of modern technology were installed during the last five-year plan period at the plants of the Ivanovo Region, the country's textile centre. Old mills that are quite numerous in Ivanovo are being given a new lease of life. Industrial renovation greatly affects the sectoral application of female labour.

Light industry, which used to rank first in employing women, is now behind machine-building and metal-working: machine-building employs a million more women than the light industry. This is only natural because the sector deals with electronic, radiotechnical and instrument production. Automatic machinery and assembly lines have replaced turning and milling machines, making the job easier and more delicate. The special attention, diligence

and other qualities characteristic of women are now required.

By the early 1980, women accounted for 52 per cent of all employed in the electrotechnical industry and instrument-making and for up to 67 per cent of those working in precision instrument-making and in the radio industry.

These are leading industries in Soviet economy: they determine technological progress, and the jobs they offer require special skills akin to engineering. As compared to other countries, the employment of women is noticeably different in the Soviet Union. For example, 60 per cent of the 5,000,000 working women in France have no qualifications. Another fact is just as striking: in capitalist countries women with a higher education are often unable to get a job in their profession or trade. In West Germany 6 per cent of the women graduates of higher schools are forced to take low-paid jobs. In Italy such women account for 10.5 per cent of the total number of working women and in Belgium the figure is 10 per cent.

In agriculture women account for 44 per cent, and they have chosen the occupation of their own free will. The gap between agricultural and industrial labour is increasingly narrowing and agro-industrial complexes with a high level of mechanisation and electrification of production have been set up in the last few years. Women operate modern machinery at mechanised poultry farms and industrialised cattle-breeding complexes. Most of the rural jobs, requiring special training are also done by women: they work as agronomists, livestock specialists, veterinary surgeons and researchers at experimental laboratories and farms.

¹ See *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1976, p. 175.

The Soviet government's constant concern about working women can be illustrated by what was done in 1975, which was declared the International Year of the Woman. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet passed a special resolution on the application of female labour legislation in some economic sectors. The Commission for Legislative Proposals of the USSR Supreme Soviet paid unflagging attention to these problems, while special trade union commissions in regions, areas and republics regularly heard reports by heads of ministries, departments and enterprises and mapped out specific measures to improve working and living conditions for women.

In the same year of 1975 trade union activists inspected working and living conditions and recreational facilities and opportunities for the country's working women. More than 200,000 women had their working conditions improved as a result of the survey, thousands of women were trained in new trades and professions, were given work requiring higher skill and were promoted. The survey had great public impact: the commissions at enterprises and offices received over 1,000,000 proposals from the working people, 75 per cent of which were put into practice within the year and the rest were included in comprehensive plans for improving labour protection and hygienic and health building measures between 1976-1980. For example, over three-quarters of those employed in the textile industry are women. For this reason the Ministry of Light Industry acted on trade union initiative and installed new machines and equipment, which are easier to operate, and modernised humidity ventilation and air conditioning. Women working in 22 textile trades (weavers, spin-

ners, etc.) had their retirement age reduced by five years (to 50).

Soviet legislation takes into consideration the fact that women are more susceptible than men to certain physical and chemical effects. The very first legislative acts of the Soviet government took account of these peculiarities and the possible adverse effect on women of overwork and of some environmental factors. In 1932 the People's Commissariat for Labour issued a "List of Especially Arduous and Harmful Jobs Not to be Given to Women" and legally fixed the permissible load of manual work for women.

Now that the scientific and technological revolution has encompassed all spheres of life, the USSR is doing everything possible to protect the working women from unfavourable effects and to make their work easier. Safety engineering rules and hygiene requirements on production equipment are enforced at enterprises. The composition and temperature of the air in production shops and offices are strictly regulated by the sanitary norms of industrial designs.

Socialist laws enable women to combine work with raising children and ensure legal protection and material support for mothers and children, gradual reduction of working time for mothers with small children and benefits for expectant mothers and mothers (Article 35 of the Soviet Constitution).

Freedom of Creative Work

An enthusiastic and creative attitude towards work is, perhaps, what distinguishes Soviet people most of all. No matter where they work—at a control board or in a weaving shop, in a research laboratory or at a

secondary school, in court or at a University—Soviet women always put all they have into the job. Concern for the development of social production as the main source of well-being breeds initiative in some people, while others take it up and bring it within everybody's reach. This is a characteristic of socialist democracy.

In production this is manifest in the Soviet people's desire to accelerate growth rates and to produce more high-quality goods at a smaller cost. Soviet workers have initiated a drive to exceed state plans, and women often set examples in this nationwide campaign. Take, for instance, women workers of the Kuntsevo platinum needle factory, who raised their plan and fulfilled it. As a result they mastered 25 types of new technology, produced 450,000 roubles' worth of goods in excess of the planned targets, and the factory spent 10 per cent of the profit for the social and cultural needs of the workers.

It is generally known that the individual develops while working, perfecting skills and becoming a public figure.

Valentina Pletneva, who was a rank-and-file weaver at the Kostroma flax mill, was not known in the country until experience made her a first-class worker. She scrutinised her looms, the techniques of weaving and her working schedule and came to the conclusion that she could do two quotas within one five-year period by organising her work better and making fuller use of the machinery rather than by intensifying labour. She managed to exceed her annual output quota by 200 per cent and after that came up with a programme that enabled her to do thirteen yearly quotas in five years. As a result the

country got 615,000 linear metres of first-class fabric in excess of the planned targets.

This was achieved thanks to a creative attitude to work and the social and production conditions, which bring out the Soviet people's best qualities.

Valentina Pletneva makes no secret of her methods, on the contrary, she generously shares them with colleagues from other mills all over the country. Representatives of related enterprises visited Pletneva's mill, listened to her account of her techniques, analysed her experience in figures and photographs and then had practical training on the spot.

The weavers all over the country emulated her work and launched a nationwide drive to achieve the five-year targets ahead of schedule.

To complete Pletneva's profile, she is a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, member of the Presidium of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and Hero of Socialist Labour.

Pletneva lives in Central Russia but our next example comes from Kirghizia. Economic and cultural growth under Soviet government aroused the inhabitants of all the national republics to creative efforts. In Kirghizia, too, there are people whose performance is exemplary and among them are Anapia Bakyrdinova, a spinner at the Frunze worsted cloth mill, Musbira Tudalieva and Kanysh Saginbayeva, workers at the Forty Years of the October Revolution garment factory. They joined the movement "To Do Two Five-Year Quotas in Five Years" and in 1979 were already working on their 1982-1983 quotas. Foreman Ainek Aitkulova was the one who headed the movement at the factory.

The accomplishments of these remarkable women exemplify the dynamic development of Soviet life, the inexhaustible potentialities of the people and their wish to achieve progress. Hero of Socialist Labour Ainek Aitkulova sees her own life reflected in those of her younger colleagues. She was born in the year of the Great October Revolution and witnessed changes for the better in the life of the entire people and her own factory.

The growing social, political and production activity of Soviet women stems from their patriotism, industry, know-how and creative spirit.

Intellectual Potential and "Domestic Civilisation"

The experience of the world's first socialist state refutes the allegations of Western theoreticians and journalists, who advertise the capitalist way of life, that the intellectual potential of women as well as their social and political activity are limited by their natural characteristics.

Many Western sociologists conclude after a study of the women's question in their countries that the social status of women is determined above all by the level of "domestic civilisation", that is to say, by the opportunity to buy a car in order to go shopping and to drive children to school or to have a refrigerator stocked with pre-cooked foods to speed up preparation of meals for the family. In industrialised capitalist countries it is regarded the pinnacle of society's concern for women when housewives can order the necessary goods over the telephone or by post.

The Soviet Union is guided by the principles put forth by Lenin, the founder of the socialist state. The rights and freedoms of women are in their political and social equality with men. That is why "the chief thing is to get women to take part in socially productive labour, to liberate them from 'domestic slavery', to free them from their stupefying and humiliating subjugation to the eternal drudgery of the kitchen and the nursery.

"This struggle will be a long one, and it demands a radical reconstruction both of social technique and of morals."¹

The Soviet Union is carrying out an extensive programme which includes the involvement of women in social production and establishment of adequate working conditions for them. The development of socialist economy in the past few years gave ample opportunities for the liberation of women from "domestic slavery", by providing them with services and utilities and making their home chores easier. What is more, the programme is carried out on a planned basis and nationwide scale.

The building of flats with all modern conveniences is an essential factor in this respect.

Domestic chores are reduced by a third in a modern house. In the period from 1976 to 1980 almost a quarter of the country's population received new flats free of charge. The housing was built at the expense of the public consumption funds.

The well-being of the Soviet people grows, and houses are increasingly well-equipped with the attributes of "domestic civilisation" (refrigerators, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, etc.), which are pro-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 409.

duced in ever greater quantities. The fact that men now help their womenfolk more with household chores and raising children is also of considerable importance.

The services, of which there are 600 by now, are available both in town and countryside.

In the capitalist world everything is based on private enterprise and competition. The state safeguards the interests of private capital and cares little for the way the working people live. Soviet society is concerned for the welfare of everybody and develops social production with this aim in view.

Let us compare certain aspects of life in the US and the Soviet Union, the most advanced countries in the modern world.

In the US 12.5 per cent of the white women are college graduates, but most of them are unable to use their education. Women account for 9 per cent of medical doctors, for 5 per cent of the lawyers and for less than 2 per cent of engineers. In 1974 the US Supreme Court ruled that women should not be paid maternity leaves. In fact American women have no prospects of promotion either in the medical profession or in education, to say nothing of engineering. It all depends on labour legislation: no capitalist country has succeeded in giving women equal rights with men in employment and remuneration for their work.

The situation is entirely different in the socialist countries. In Mongolia women account for 42 per cent of the total workforce and in the German Democratic Republic and the USSR for up to 51 per cent. The only difference between these countries is in the proportion of the able-bodied female population. There

are 20 times more women doctors in the Soviet Union than in the USA.

The careers women make depend on their aptitudes but even more on the prevailing socio-political conditions. The Soviet Union has lofty aims, which are fully in harmony with the aims of social production and with the system of education. For instance, women account for 40 per cent of workers in sciences; at the beginning of 1979 there were 522,500 women among the Soviet scientists, including 5,200 doctors of sciences, 104,200 candidates of sciences and 2,800 academicians, corresponding members of the Academies, professors and assistant professors. Women of different nationalities and professional training and coming from various regions are to be found among the scientific workers.

In their research work Soviet women display aptitude and the remarkable characteristics belonging to all our citizens. Take, for example, Yekaterina Sukhanova from the Arctic city of Norilsk, whose population numbers 180,000. Norilsk was threatened to become a "ghost" city, when the reserves of ore for its metallurgical combine began to dwindle. What Yekaterina Sukhanova did was more than a heroic deed: through persistent prospecting she and her fellow workers managed to refute the accepted theory that the Norilsk deposits were unique. She led a group of geologists who sank hundreds of wells and discovered the first microelements of ores similar to those in Norilsk deposit on the banks of the Taldnakh. Ore deposits found later provided the combine with raw materials for years to come while the city continues its bustling life.

When she came to the Arctic thirty-five years ago,

Yekaterina Sukhanova was fresh from the University. "I started out with horses, hammers and microscopes. Now I work with the help of helicopters, powerful drilling rigs, unique microanalysers and an atomic reactor," says Yekaterina Sukhanova, now chief geologist at one of the major metallurgical plants in the country.

Here is another example from a different field of scientific endeavour.

...Vera Strazdina was only three when her father and mother settled in Olaine (Latvia) and started working as chemists at a pharmacy. Old porcelain bowls and pharmaceutical devices served as toys for the girl and decided her choice of profession.

She graduated with honours from the pharmaceutical department of the University and started her career at a rural pharmacy. But she wanted to do chemical research and went to work at the Riga chemical and pharmaceutical plant, first as a laboratory worker, then as quality inspection chief and later on as head of an experimental laboratory.

"Some time later," she says, "I began working at the Institute of Organic Synthesis. This was very interesting work developing new drugs..."

Five years went by in search, disillusionment and discovery.

Vera Strazdina and her colleagues in the laboratory carried out thousands of experiments and succeeded in making a new preparation, which is capable of checking the growth of A-type of influenza virus.

The intellectual potentialities are as high in women as they are in men, and the most important thing is to create the conditions necessary for their develop-

ment. Socialism is a society interested in developing the abilities not only of individuals, but of all the people who are building a new and happy life.

The Right to Free Education

The educational level among women was very low in tsarist Russia: before the revolution a mere 16.6 per cent of women in town could read and write, and only 12.5 per cent in the countryside. Prior to 1917, only 11 out of every 1,000 women went beyond elementary school: mainly those who came from the privileged sections of society could go to higher and specialised secondary educational establishments.

Soviet power opened the doors of schools and other educational establishments for all women. In 1926, 42.7 per cent of women were already literate; in 1939 the figure grew to 81.6 per cent. From 1971 to 1976 the transition to universal secondary education was mainly completed, with women accounting for a half of those attending full-time secondary schools in the 1978-79 academic year.

Women were able to receive a higher and secondary education on an equal footing with men from the first years of Soviet power. In 1927, women accounted for 27 per cent of the students at higher schools and for 38 per cent of those at specialised secondary schools; the figures went up to 50 and 54 per cent accordingly in the 1978-79 academic year. Just like men, women are trained for jobs in industry and construction, transport and communication, the health service, agriculture, education, etc.

In 1939, there were 104 women with a higher or secondary (complete or incomplete) education per

every 1,000 job holders, the figure was 769 in 1979.

A high level of education is a characteristic feature of women's cultural development in all Soviet republics. For instance, in 1939, there were 43 women with a secondary and higher education per every 1,000 women employed in Kirghizia's economy; the figure for Tajikistan was 30. By early 1979, the figures grew to 804 and 770 respectively.

When developing its educational system, the CPSU is guided by the economic, scientific and cultural requirements of the scientific and technological revolution. On the one hand, the advanced economy serves as a source of scientific and cultural development; on the other, the assimilation of scientific and cultural achievements by the masses speeds up progress in all spheres of social life.

Education is free in the Soviet Union, and instruction is provided in the languages of all the big and small nations. People in the national republics show particular interest in the Russian language because Soviet people of different nationalities regard Russian as the principal means of communication, which draws all nations closer together. Russian is one of the richest languages in the world. It indicates the stature of the Russian people, their glorious and heroic history and their rich cultural heritage.

We spoke with the Kazakh woman Roza Nurtazina who is a teacher of Russian and director of a school in Alma Ata. We were pleasantly surprised by her excellent command of Russian. She had learned the language at a teachers' training institute and liked it so much that she decided to continue her studies at post-graduate courses. The subject of her paper was ways of encouraging the student interest

in the Russian language. The school of which Roza Nurtazina is the director has an international student body: it is attended by Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Tajiks, Uigurs and children of mixed marriages. They study the Kazakh and Russian languages, and several subjects are taught in English.

Candidate of Pedagogical Sciences Roza Nurtazina, a mother of four, has been working at the school for 38 years. Her work has been rewarded with the titles Merited Teacher of the Kazakh Republic and Hero of Socialist Labour. Thousands of children received a secondary education at this school. Among its former graduates are eleven doctors of sciences, 116 candidates of sciences, and six deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet. Such progress has been made in Kazakhstan, which prior to the October Revolution was a backward outlying area, where no more than a handful of the population could read and write.

Soviet women have the right to choose their trade or profession, type of job and work on a par with men. In this way they can realise their potentialities and talents in all spheres of the national economy and public activity.

Freedom of Political Activity

The emancipation of women would not have been complete if they had not been granted the right to participate in the country's political activity, and this right has been guaranteed to women by the policy of the Communist Party and by the socialist system.

Soviet women exercise the right to take part in political activity and are befittingly represented in all the bodies of Soviet government.

Altogether 1,147,694 women were elected to the local Soviets (bodies of government in cities, villages, districts, territories and regions) on February 24, 1980; this is almost one half of all the deputies.

There are 487 women among the deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet and 3,799 among those to the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous republics.

Membership in the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet includes Rimma Gavrilova, a textile worker from the Vladimir Region, Yekaterina Mukhina, a doctor from the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Area, Nina Novosyolova, a milling machine-operator from the Miass auto plant in the Chelyabinsk Region, and Valentina Nikolayeva-Tereshkova, President of the Soviet Women's Committee and the world's first spacewoman.

Quite a few women work as deputies to the chairmen of the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics, and also as ministers of education, light and food industries, culture and social security in those republics.

Women account for one half of the civil servants and officials of economic management bodies, and many of them hold the jobs of chief specialists, experts, department and division heads.

Women have a great role to play in the trade unions. For instance, they account for over 58 per cent of the trade union committees of factories and collective and state farms, that is, the economic units producing the bulk of the material wealth of society. Over one half of the factory trade union committees are chaired by women. Thirty per cent of the members of the All-Union Central Council of Trade

Unions, the supreme body of the Soviet trade unions are women. Two of them, Alexandra Biryukova and Lyudmila Zemlyannikova are Secretaries of the Council.

Soviet women are profoundly committed to the ideals and cause of the Communist Party.

The distinctive features of the activities of the party and government bodies in the USSR and their specific functions are best of all illustrated by the succinct formula: the party leads, and the state governs. The party's authority is not based on the mandatory character of its decisions. Unlike the laws passed by the state, the resolutions of the CPSU are not binding on all citizens. However, since the party's decisions express in the fullest possible way the interests of the people, they have a great political and moral authority. That is why the state and public organisations, work collectives and all Soviet people fully trust the party and are guided by its political decisions. Soviet laws are passed on the basis of the Communist Party's policy.

The party's policy and programme meet the vital interests of the Soviet women as well. Working women link their life with the party and join its ranks: today they account for over 24 per cent of the CPSU membership, and many of them have been elected to leading party bodies.

The new Soviet Constitution also stresses the social status of Soviet women.

"Article 35. Women and men have equal rights in the USSR. Exercise of these rights is ensured by according women equal access with men to education and vocational and professional training, equal opportunities in employment, remuneration, and

promotion, and in social and political, and cultural activity, and by special labour and health protection measures for women; by providing conditions enabling mothers to work; by legal protection, and material and moral support for mothers and children, including paid leaves and other benefits for expectant mothers and mothers, and gradual reduction of working time for mothers with small children."

Equality and Freedom

Western authors tend to misrepresent love and family life in Soviet society. According to them, women in the "free world", that is, in capitalist society, enjoy complete freedom, meaning that they are free to love whoever they wish, free not to work, to marry or to divorce their husbands. Those authors usually hold up the life of women from the propertied classes as an example of such freedom.

Soviet women regard such discourses ridiculous and naive. They themselves are tender and loving, devote much time to their families, and take care of their looks.

The Soviet government initiated the emancipation of women by granting them real equality with men at work and the right to participate in running the state affairs, and has been particularly attentive to them ever since. It encourages all to respect women both as citizens and a symbol of physical and spiritual beauty.

Socialism abolished the traditional "male superiority" and an entirely new relationship between men and women emerged on the basis of equality, mutual respect and love, and it is on this basis that marriage is built. There is absolutely no room in Soviet society

for marriages of convenience. Love and affection between the husband, wife and their children and their happiness constitute the foundations of the moral health of the family and the whole of Soviet society. Since money considerations are not all-important, the romantic aspects of love acquire true meaning and the woman becomes free to choose her partner in life. She marries the man she truly loves, and it is on this basis that sincere love can thrive.

So when we say that happiness is built on a new social basis we mean, above all, social equality in work and in remuneration for it as well as equal opportunities in education and vocational training. It is most probably these factors that account for the growing strength of marital bonds in the Soviet Union. More than 7,000 marriages are daily registered in the Soviet Union, over 13,000 children are born and about 30,000 people move to government-built flats.

While taking ever more care to prepare young people for family life, the Soviet system is ever more confident in tackling social and economic problems. Statistics show that ever more Soviet women hold jobs on a permanent basis. This makes them socially equal with men.

There is another favourable circumstance: Soviet women are entitled to long fully-paid maternity leaves, and can take partially paid leaves to look after the child until it is one-year-old, while their jobs are kept for them.

Here is one example, which is quite typical. The Kommunizm collective farm in Turkmenia is famous for its high cotton crops. Some 450 women work on the farm, and each of them has five, six and even

more children. One of them, Syrga Tekizbayeva, has been awarded the title Mother-Heroine. (Special decorations have been instituted in the Soviet Union for mothers of large families). Like all the other women at the farm, Syrga Tekizbayeva successfully combines her household duties with socially-useful work. Eighty five women have been awarded high government decorations, and 412 were given the title of Communist Shock Worker.

Some ideologists of capitalism try in vain to convince the world public that the emancipation of women in the Soviet Union, particularly their work on a par with men, has not added to their happiness but has only saddled them with extra duties.

"Isn't it really so?" the chairwoman of the Kom-munizm collective farm, Gyzylgul Annamukhammedova, was asked during her recent trip abroad.

"Has anyone written a song about you?" she retorted. Seeing the puzzled look of the sceptic, she said: "One has been written about me. A composer once came to our collective farm and brought along a song. It is called 'Gyzylgul', and it is a tribute to my work."

So if you take the right to work away from Soviet women, their life will only become dull.

Western propagandists may well allege that women with families to look after and jobs to do cannot even dream about freedom to love and free marriage, but Soviet women have a different opinion on this score.

First of all, if "freedom" presupposes a life spent in dreams about love and nothing else, this sort of freedom is ridiculous. True love cannot separate personal interests from those of society.

Secondly, if "freedom" means license for the husband or wife, or for both to indulge in extra-marital love affairs, Soviet women are strongly opposed to it. This sort of free love is nothing short of moral degradation and a degeneration of human relations.

The degradation of morals in bourgeois society today is obvious, and it worries the progressive public in the capitalist West. Their conclusion is that the novelties continuously produced by the scientific and technological revolution make a stable system of moral values, standards and taboos impossible in the capitalist world. For instance, the British ideologist John Gummer has made an in-depth analysis of the profound crisis of morals in bourgeois society. He openly admits in his book *The Permissive Society* that there is a gap between the traditional norms of conduct and actual behaviour and that such phenomena as violence and drug addiction have become permissible. All moral ideals are being rejected. According to Gummer, the collapse of barriers in relations between the sexes has brought about the disintegration of the entire system of taboos and resulted in moral chaos.¹ The French author Hervé Bazin observes that young people in the West simulate poverty with their ragged and threadbare jeans just like the monk does with his frock, while in reality they enjoy living standards and diets that would make the Third World pale with envy. They wear this uniform just as they affect a special language, slogans with the perennial "anti", perverted prejudices, impulses and manners by which they recognise one another as adepts of a vast association,

¹ See John Selwyn Gummer, *The Permissive Society. Fact or Fantasy?* London, 1971.

resembling a riotous mob.¹ Arrogant "independence" and sexual permissiveness are a challenge to the society which has, at a time of fundamental transition from one set of ideas and moral values to another failed to give young people jobs, provide them with public activity and develop in them a sense of responsibility and dignity.

Soviet society is a society of a new morality. It has profoundly humanistic laws and norms of social behaviour, and it preserves the moral health of the individual and society as a whole. The common goals achieved by a common effort bring to life and promote fraternity between people, their freedom and equality. They embody the ideological and moral links between the individual and society as well as the remarkable traits of the socialist way of life.

There always remain physical, intellectual, and, apparently, moral differences between people, and it is not the task of a society based on justice to remove them. People cannot be made to resemble one another like peas in a pod. However, equal conditions can and must be provided so that everyone would be able to comprehensively develop his or her personality. Just as freedom is to become the foundation of equality, equality should become the foundation of freedom.

No society can achieve full-scale freedom without granting it to women. The freedom of women and their equality in society and in the family, just like the freedom and equality of all people in Soviet society, are characteristic of the development of the socialist state.

¹ Hervé Bazin, *Ce Que Je Crois*, Paris, 1977, p. 138.

The Rights and Freedoms of "Small" Nations

The world press is increasingly alarmed by the plight of the indigenous population who are on the brink of extinction in certain parts of the world. At the same time, there are those who seek to prove the inevitability of the gradual extinction of "savage tribes".

The social and economic progress of the so-called small peoples of the Soviet Far North and Far East disproves predictions that national minorities are going to die out. Many Soviet peoples have rapidly bypassed several historical stages in their social progress and risen from the tribal system to socialism.

Language of Intercourse Between Peoples

The authors of this book have met quite a few representatives of the small peoples of the USSR, including Eskimos and Aleuts, Nenets and Evenks, Chukchi and Yakuts, Dolgans and Nanais. They were people from different age groups and walks of life. But we easily understood each other on every occasion. Be it the south, north, west or east of the Soviet Union, Russian is the language of communication among peoples. Incidentally, Russian is not the official state language of the USSR, although it is spoken by the largest Soviet nation.

The official language of every Soviet republic is the language spoken by the people inhabiting it. Official correspondence and court proceedings are conducted and newspapers and books are published

in this language, and it is taught at schools and universities. Russian is the language of intercourse between Soviet peoples, and there were no language barriers to surmount in communicating with the indigenous people in the North and the Far East. Even if any of the Chukchi, Yakuts or Eskimos we met, particularly the old people, had a poor command of Russian, they were given help by their children and grandchildren, doctors, teachers, geologists, writers, research workers and officials of the local bodies of government. All Soviet nations are bilingual: they speak Russian as well as their own language. The indigenous people of the North have a good command of Russian, and not only Russian: some of them speak English, others French or German. There are even those among them who know several European languages. Is it a miracle? Hardly so. A miracle is something outstanding, exceptional. But we had ordinary people before us. Many of them did not have a higher education: they were simple hunters, fishermen, deer-breeders and drivers of cross-country vehicles. But it was interesting to talk to all of them: they keep abreast of international affairs, concern themselves with the problems of concentration and specialisation in agricultural production, and are interested in the latest novels.

It is truly disheartening that indigenous peoples in the wealthiest capitalist countries, such as the Alaska Eskimos, are on the brink of extinction. On October 30, 1975, the West German magazine *Stern* published an article entitled "Alaska: The Law of the Jungle in the Wild North." This may be commonplace in the West, but it surprises the Soviet people. But what is happening in Alaska is very

likely the same as happened in tsarist Russia, where the progress of the small peoples, including those in the North, was deliberately blocked by the entire system of economic enslavement and by total illiteracy.

So education on the combined basis of the Russian and national languages was one of the measures taken to stimulate the political and economic progress of national minorities in the Soviet Far North. The social, economic and cultural development of all nations turns the more developed and widespread languages into languages of international intercourse, that is, world languages, and Russian is one of them.

The choice of Russian as a means of intercourse between the Soviet nations and nationalities is an objective need in building a new society, because socialism is developed by the joint efforts and concerted work of all the nations and nationalities in the country.

Russian does not infringe upon or push aside the national languages. Conversely, it is a powerful means accelerating the development and progress of all the nations and nationalities inhabiting the Soviet Union.

The Profiles of Twenty-Six Soviet National Minorities

The Far North accounts for over one-third of the total area of the Soviet Union. It includes the Komi, Karelian and Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics, the Koryak, Nenets, Yamal-Nenets, Dolgan-Nenets, Khanty-Mansi, Evenk and Chukotka National areas, and also part of the Magadan, Murmansk and Arkhangelsk regions. In terms of physi-

cal features, it includes islands of the Arctic Ocean, the tundra and the taiga.

The Far North is inhabited by 26 national minorities, namely, the Eskimos, Chukchi, Evenks, Evens, Saami, Khanty, Mansi, Nenets, Enets, Nganasans, Selkups, Kets, Dolgans, Nanais, Negidalts, Ulchi, Udeghe, Orochi, Orok, Nivkhi, Koryaks, Itelmens, Yukagirs, Chuvants, Tofalars and Aleuts. Some of them number several dozen or several hundred people (e.g., Nganasans), others number tens of thousands (Nenets).

Before the Great October Socialist Revolution, their plight was appalling: they lived in rawhide tents always filled with smoke from fires, and suffered from hunger. Infant mortality was high and illiteracy was total. Their only purpose was to survive and not to die from hunger and disease.

The tsarist officials and the merchants cheated the local hunters, fishermen and deer-breeders. While political exiles and peasants who had come to live there from Central Russia lived peacefully side by side with the Northern minorities, took an interest in their customs and shared know-how in livestock breeding and crop farming, the government officials levied heavy taxes on them and indulged in bribery and extortion.

The ruthlessness of the white "civilisers" jeopardised the very existence of the Far Northern tribes. The local population was very sparse at that time. In pre-revolutionary Yakutia, for instance, only 264,000 lived on a territory of over three million square kilometres, and this population could be subdivided into three groups: Yakuts, who engaged in livestock breeding, constituted over 82 per cent; Rus-

sians, including tsarist officials, resettled peasant families and exiles, accounted for 10.5 per cent; the minorities, such as the Evenks, Evens, Chukchi and Yukagirs who went in for fur trapping and deer-breeding, constituted 7.2 per cent. Their numbers shrank constantly and they faced complete extinction. According to Vladimir Iokhelson, an authority on the Far Northern peoples, the Yukagirs were to become extinct by the 1920s. The Yakuts also faced this plight: between 1897 and 1917 the Yakut population hardly grew at all.

The resurgence and development of the Northern peoples began after the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Soviet government gave them freedom and made them equal with all the other nations in Russia.

Lenin believed that a new society could only be built by the common efforts of all the big and small nations. It was necessary to give fraternal aid to the working people in those areas which lagged far behind in their economic, political and cultural development because of the colonial policy of the tsarist regime. That was the fundamental principle of the nationalities policy of the Soviet government, a policy of fraternal mutual assistance among nations and nationalities, of ensuring their flourishing and pooling their efforts in building communism.

Representatives of such small peoples as the Nenets, Evenks, Chukchi, Nanais, Aleuts and Dolgans, can now be found in Moscow, Leningrad and other major cities. Some of them attend institutions of higher learning on government scholarships, others work at factories and in offices just like people of other nationalities. The majority of them, naturally,

live in their homeland. The Northern peoples hold industrial jobs and go in for traditional occupations like hunting, fishing and deer-breeding.

But whereas in the past their only tools had been the lariat, the ax and the primitive bone needle, today they use cross-country vehicles, tractors, helicopters and planes. Hunters and deer-breeders use radio stations and telephones.

The people living in the Soviet Far North do not have to worry about their future, like the indigenous population of Alaska and Canada. Whatever their occupation—fishing, fur hunting, deer-breeding or bone-carving—they know that the products of their work will always be needed. They are plentifully supplied with food, clothes and footwear, and have modern housing built for them. The fact is that they are equals in the family of Soviet nations, and their handicrafts and other economic pursuits are part and parcel of the integrated socialist economy, the size and structural pattern of which are regulated by the state.

Last but not least, those working in the North get good wages: there is special bonus for work in rigorous climatic conditions.

Demographic Explosion

The economic and cultural progress of the national minorities under Soviet government, the steep rise of their living standards and the provision of health care for them have given the lie to the capitalist concept of the inevitable "extinction of savage tribes". For instance, the population of the Nenets, Khanty, and Selkups has more than doubled since 1930.

The above-mentioned Yakuts thrive just like the minorities living in the Yakut Autonomous Republic: in the time between the two censuses (1959 and 1979) the number of Evenks, Chukchi and Yukagirs grew by 20 per cent and that of the Yakuts by 26 per cent.

The growth of the indigenous peoples under socialism is well illustrated by the following figures: between 1897 and 1917 the Yakut population grew on average by 67 persons a year and between 1959 and 1970 by 1,500.

This brings to mind the words of Jay Hammond, Governor of Alaska, quoted by *Stern* in October 1975. Hammond said that eventually the Alaskan population rather than the northern deer might become the endangered biological species in the area. Well, the Governor had every reason to say so: according to the West German journalist Klaus Liedtke, Alaska today is plagued by prostitution, drugs, alcohol, blood-thirsty mosquitos during its short summer and deadly cold during its long Arctic winter. According to him, Alaska is a venture in which many go to the dogs and few make fortunes.

Life is very different in the Northern areas of the Soviet Union; its hallmarks are the revival and advancement of the small peoples.

Now a few words seem in order about the nationalities policy of the Soviet state, in particular, the building of socialism in the North.

The historical necessity of the unification of the Soviet republics was substantiated and the principles of building a multinational state were worked out by Lenin. He formulated the theoretical principles for a new, socialist type federation.

The basic aspects of the Leninist nationalities policy include recognition of complete equality between the big and small nations, respect for their sovereignty, economic and cultural mutual assistance, and internationalism in the broadest sense of the word. All this fully applies to the Northern minorities.

The solution of the national question accorded with the vital interests of the working class, and it was the main driving force behind the unification of the Soviet peoples into a single socialist state.

The unification took place at the Tenth All-Russia Congress of Soviets on December 26, 1922, and four days later, on December 30, 1922, the First All-Union Congress of Soviets was opened in the Bolshoi Theatre. It proclaimed the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, elected a Central Executive Committee and set up the Union Government headed by Lenin.

At that time the peoples inhabiting the USSR drastically differed in their economic and cultural levels, and the population of the more advanced areas had to help the backward outlying parts of the country so that they could contribute to the building of a new society.

In 1925 the first group of Chukchi, Nanais, Nezets, Itelmen and Evenks were enrolled in the preparatory department of the Leningrad University. There were 19 of them, and only two or three could read and write.

Rooms were set aside for the Northerners at the university dormitory, and while these were being redecorated, the students were put up in Catherine's Palace, a former country residence of the Russian tsars.

The students of the period recall how in evenings the Northerners used to return to the palace after classes, build a fire in the park and sit around it in their folk clothes—parkas and fur boots. Some of them had already acquired conventional clothes by that time, but it was a remarkable scene all the same.

Of course, it was not at once that the inhabitants of the tundra adapted themselves to new life styles. Everything, from pen and paper, forks and spoons to tap water and electricity, was strange to them. They had to travel in a few years' time the road which it had taken humanity millennia to cover, but they did it.

The preparatory department functioned at the university until 1930, when a special institute for Northern minorities was set up. It trained school teachers, cooperative and industrial workers.

In this way the intelligentsia of the Northern national minorities and their main contingent, the school teachers, were trained for the first time in history. New schools continued to be opened. There were only 123 national schools throughout the Far North in the 1929-30 academic year. Eight years later there were 556 of them, and schooling was put within the reach of all the children of the Northern peoples.

The Capabilities and Talents of the "Savage" Tribes

The great Russian poet Alexander Pushkin predicted a time when his name would be spoken by the "still unlettered Tungus" as well as the "proud descendant of the Slavs". Today the Tunguses (Evenks) have

Pushkin's works translated from Russian into their native language, and also books by Tungus writers and poets.

It was after Soviet government was established that Northern literatures emerged and produced quite a few remarkable authors who enriched the multinational literature of the Soviet Union. Books by the Chukchi Yuri Rytkeu, the Nanai Grigory Khodzher, the Dolgan Ogdo Aksyonova, the Nenets Leonid Lapsui, the Nivkh Vladimir Sangi, the Eskimo Yuri Anko, the Mansi Yuvan Shestalov, and others have been translated into Russian.

A national intelligentsia has emerged in the North. In Chukotka, for instance, there are local doctors, teachers, agrarian specialists, scientists and artists. Representatives of the indigenous population work virtually in all spheres of the local economy. For instance, there are 120 specialists with a higher and specialised secondary education at deer-breeding farms, and 163 specialists in the public education system, among them teachers of the Chukchi and Eskimo languages.

After leaving local schools, the children of deer-breeders, fishermen and hunters enter higher and specialised secondary educational establishments in Moscow, Leningrad, Krasnoyarsk, Khabarovsk and other cities. The government pays their fare when they go to study. Some of the institutes maintain special preparatory departments for entrants from among the Northern peoples.

Several decades ago the population of Chukotka considered the electric lamp a miracle; today they are quite used to having electricity in their homes. The Chukchi regularly watch TV programmes from

Moscow, while the local TV centre broadcasts in the Chukchi language. The radio station of Anadyr, the centre of the Chukchi National Area, broadcasts in three languages, Eskimo, Chukchi, and Russian.

So how credible are the Western theorists who allege that the "savage tribes" are not capable of organising their own lives and are no good in general.

Such "concepts" are shattered by the historical development of the smallest nations of the Soviet Union, who have been given a new lease of life by socialism.

The Eskimo Tasyan Tein, of the scientific staff of the North-Eastern integrated research institute, has begun unravelling the mystery of the ancient Eskimo culture which once thrived on the coast of the Bering Sea. An aborigine studies the history of his ancestors.

Lina Tynel, who was born in the wilds of the Senezhenskaya tundra, heads the Executive Committee of the Soviet of People's Deputies in the Chukotka National Area. She manages an enormous economy in the harsh Northern conditions and also represents the interests of her people in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Anna Nutetegrine, Secretary of the Ola District Party Committee, has written a book, called *My Chukotka*, which describes the problems of public education in the North.

The Chukchi Pyotr Inenlikei, Candidate of Sciences in Philosophy, has compiled a dictionary of the Chukchi language.

And here are facts of a different nature: it was said at the 1967 international symposium on the

problems of the Northern peoples in Montreal that there was not a single Eskimo teacher in Greenland, with a population of some 40,000 Eskimos, and that only one Eskimo had graduated from the university in wealthy and enlightened Canada at that time.

In the Soviet North now there is a ramified network of regional and district hospitals, specialised clinics, district and rural community centres, libraries, folk music and drama companies, centres of folk culture and museums.

Fraternal Friendship and Mutual Assistance Pave the Way to Progress

The lands inhabited by the small Northern peoples of the USSR are rich in forests and wild life. They contain valuable minerals, which are now mined by tens of thousands of the local population. National economy thrives and statehood took the form of autonomous republics and national areas. The autonomous republics and national areas are headed by the representatives of the indigenous population. Aborigines are elected to party and trade union committees.

Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Armenians, Tatars, Lithuanians and people of many other Soviet nationalities work side by side with the local population of the North. It is not to make a fortune that people from all the other Soviet republics come to the North: friendship and mutual assistance which emerged in the early period of Soviet government are growing stronger.

Gold was discovered in these parts, but it did not start an American "gold rush". Major oil reserves have been found in various parts of the North and

Siberia. So people come from all over the country to help the local population develop the mineral resources and raise their living and cultural standards. In turn the local population help the newcomers adapt themselves to Northern conditions. Brotherhood between people of different nationalities has become a characteristic feature of life in the North.

The North has become one of the most economically promising areas of the USSR. The law on the development of the Soviet national economy in 1976-1980, which was approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet, provided for the continued development of the local natural resources and improvement of living standards of the population.

Apart from oil and gold, such minerals as coal, diamonds and iron ore are mined in the area. There is no room in the Soviet Union for the "law of the jungle", which prevails in Alaska. No one may infringe in any way on the rights of the national minorities: according to the Soviet Constitution, they have equal rights and freedoms with all the other Soviet people.

Yakutia Today

The territory of the republic stretches for almost 2,000 kilometres from north to south and as much from east to west. There are powerful mountain ranges and lowlands, fast rivers and dense taiga forests. Yakutia's natural resources are inexhaustible, and man has never set foot in many parts of it. Human settlements, inhabited by Yakuts, Evenks, Yukagirs and Chukchi, were to be found only on the

banks of rivers. For a long time the rigorous climate (the temperature drops to -70°C in the winter) slowed down human activity. Everything started to change with the advent of Soviet government. By the beginning of 1938 the population of the republic numbered 314,000 persons, and by 1979 it grew to 848,000. There appeared 10 cities, 32 districts and 59 settlements in the republic. Heavy industry is growing and so is consumer production. Yakutia started producing over 230 new types of products between 1976 and 1980.

The construction of the Baikal-Amur Railway (BAM) accelerates the economic and social progress of the eastern and northern regions of the country. It also helps raise the cultural standards of the national minorities in the Far East. Close friendly and economic ties are being established between the local population and the builders of the railroad. People of as many as 64 nationalities of the Soviet Union are taking part in the development of the South Yakut coal mining complex and in building the Tynda-Berkakit railway. The building and assembly organisation called Kuzbas is truly international with people of 14 nationalities working together. The members of the foremost bridge-building team No. 49 belong to 26 nationalities. The builders of the Tynda-Berkakit railroad and the South Yakut coal mining complex closely cooperate with the Evenk Zolotinka state farm setting a good example of internationalism. An agreement on socialist emulation has been concluded between the workers of the city of Neryungri and the Churapcha agricultural district.

The main units of the coal mining complex, which

is being built in the taiga by workers from Yakutia and many other parts of the country, are scheduled to be completed by 1982. Top-grade coking coal will be mined there, and there will be a large concentration mill. Power engineering is especially important to the northern areas because it represents the foundation of industry. So the fraternal Soviet republics are giving a hand in developing this industry, too.

Friendship between peoples and the socialist economic system enable the Northern peoples to assimilate the cultural achievements of the other Soviet nations and to establish strong economic ties with the other national republics.

There are the Fyodor Popov state farm in Yakutia and the Leninsky Styag (Leninist Banner) collective farm in Byelorussia, where Hero of the Soviet Union, the Yakut Fyodor Popov, laid down his life during the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945). The two farms have had a socialist emulation agreement for many years and this has promoted friendship between them.

Years of contacts between the gold miners of the Aldan district in Yakutia, where the Russian population prevails, and the Megino-Kangalassky farming district with a predominantly Yakut population, are a vivid example of fraternal cooperation. Socialist emulation makes it easier for the working people of the two districts to help each other expand production, improve the services and raise cultural standards.

People of 31 nationalities work and live side by side in Chernyshevsky, the workers' community of the hydropower project. The builders of the Vilyui

hydropower station maintain close contacts with the workers of various plants in Leningrad, Kharkov, Novosibirsk, Kramatorsk and other Soviet cities. These ties made it possible to put the second unit of the Vilyui station into operation one year before schedule.

The tundra covers a large part of the Soviet Union. Development does not interfere with the natural life of the tundra. There are many species of valuable commercial fish in its rivers and lakes. The rivers of the Nenets tundra are the main spawning grounds for the rare Far Eastern sturgeon. Both the local population and the workers from Central Russia take care of the natural resources of the North—oil, fur, valuable fish species, coal, herds of deer or gold. The resources and efforts of all the Soviet peoples, big and small alike, contribute to the single national economy of the Soviet Union and this makes it possible to raise the living standards year after year. It is for the sake of this common objective and for the prosperity of their socialist country that people from all over the USSR are working side by side with the local population in the Far North.

Speaking at the 25th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, Gavriil Chiryayev, First Secretary of the Yakut Regional Party Committee, said:

"The bourgeois ideologists go out of their way in an attempt to distort Soviet reality and to portray the remote national areas of the USSR as backwoods. This slander, however, cannot deceive anyone because the radical transformations accomplished by the party and the Soviet people cannot be ignored. There is seething life throughout our boundless

country, including the North, and constructive work is being carried out on a large scale."¹

The Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic occupies a befitting place among the Union and Autonomous republics of the USSR.

Politics Involves the Actual Fate of Millions

Everything that has been said about contemporary Yakutia fully applies to the other national areas in the Soviet North. Their population, economy and culture develop simultaneously with the economy and culture of the entire country. The natural conditions of the North, just as the national traditions of the Northerners, are quite specific. The Soviet state therefore takes special care of its northern peoples. This is manifest in the Soviet Communist Party's humanistic policy. Lenin stressed in his day: "...Politics involves the actual fate of millions of people..."¹ and their rights and freedoms.

It was because of their concern for the fate of millions that the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet government worked out measures to further promote the economic and social progress of the areas inhabited by the Northern peoples and passed an appropriate resolution. It was published by the Soviet press on February 26, 1980. These measures are aimed at ensuring the economic growth of the Northern areas and resolving their social problems. The programme is intended for the ten years, ending in 1990, and embraces all aspects of the Northern people's life.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 354.

The economic part of the programme includes the comprehensive expansion of various modern industries, folk handicrafts, deer- and fur-breeding, fur-trapping, dairy farming, poultry- and pig-breeding, and vegetable growing in hothouses, as well as the involvement of industrial enterprises and organisations in the improvement of living conditions in rural communities. The material and technical base for the comprehensive processing of the products of deer-breeding and fur-trapping is being developed. Appropriate Soviet organisations and research centres were instructed to develop effective repellents against gadflies and mosquitoes, and also means for protecting deer, cattle, horses, pigs, poultry, commercial fur-bearing animals and hooved wild animals against disease. The work was to be completed in 1980. The problem which once seemed insuperable in the conditions of the Northern taiga has now become an ordinary task. The achievements of contemporary science and technology make it possible to mount an attack and check epidemics. Sufficient amounts of electrical and thermal energy will be supplied to the Northern areas between 1980 and 1990. A large-scale airborne fire-fighting service is being organised for deer pastures and hunting grounds; the total protected area will amount to 170 million hectares by 1990.

It has been decided to build highways, moorages at sea and river ports and airports for local airlines and to speed up the development of telephone communication, radio networks and TV broadcasting centres.

There is also a social development programme. Socialism has never confined the comprehensive

development of the individual to "the sphere of material life".¹ Social equality has become a fact of life for the whole of Soviet society, and the social development programme for the Northern areas includes a most humane measure: the government of the Russian Federation has been instructed to complete the voluntary conversion of the nomadic families in the Northern areas to the settled way of life and to provide for their vocational training with an eye to national traditions. The ministries and departments of the USSR have been given an assignment to build housing, cultural and communal facilities, health care and educational projects and trade centres. More of the population's needs in agricultural products will be satisfied by growing them locally.

The plans for 1981-1990 provide for the further expansion of the network of health care institutions, sanatoria, health resorts, recreational facilities and Young Pioneers' and health-building centres on the vast expanses of the Northern part of the USSR. This is being done for the benefit of the population of the Buryat and Yakut Autonomous Republics, the Krasnoyarsk, Primorsky and Khabarovsk territories and the Arkhangelsk, Murmansk, Tomsk, Tyumen, Irkutsk, Chita, Amur, Magadan, Kamchatka and Sakhalin regions.

Provisions have been made for raising the educational and cultural standards of the indigenous population. It has been decided to continue linguistic and sociological research into the problems of the written languages of the Northern peoples. These projects will be the responsibility of the Ministry of Education of the USSR, the USSR Academy of Pe-

¹ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1972, p. 84.

dagagogical Sciences, the Ministry of Higher and Specialised Secondary Education of the USSR, the State Committee of the USSR for Publishing, Printing and Book Trade, and the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation. They have been instructed to produce curricula, to prepare and publish textbooks, visual study aids and dictionaries for general educational schools and teachers' training schools and institutes.

The conservation of the natural resources, the development of industry and agriculture, the tackling of social problems and the raising of the cultural standards constitute the political and economic foundations of the rights and freedoms which ensure the comprehensive development of the Northern nations on an equal footing with the other Soviet peoples.

Soviet Republics as Political Entities in Their Own Right

The present-day realities of the Northern national minorities in the Soviet Union testify that the nationalities question has been solved in the socialist state. This fact can also be illustrated by the life of the working people in any part of the USSR, be it Kazakhstan or Armenia, Uzbekistan or Byelorussia.

Barely a month had passed after the victory of the October 1917 Socialist Revolution when the workers' and peasants' government began preparations for the establishment of multinational state on the basis of Soviet Federation. The Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic was formed in early 1918. In March of the same year Lenin suggested the

"consolidation and further development of the Federative Republic of Soviets as an immeasurably higher and more progressive form of democracy than bourgeois parliamentarism..."¹ At the same time the first draft of autonomous statehood was made for the Bashkirs and the Tatars.

Along with the formation of the Russian, Byelorussian, Ukrainian and other sovereign Union republics there began the establishment of new national entities within their boundaries, autonomous republics. There were eight of them by December 30, 1922, the day of the voluntary unification of all Union republics in the USSR. There were autonomous republics in the Russian Federation as well as in Georgia, which established the Abkhaz and the Adzhar Autonomous Republics as early as 1921. As their numbers grew and their economy and culture made progress, autonomy was granted to twelve more national minorities.

The minorities not only acquired a name on the political map of the country and symbols of autonomy: the rights of the autonomous republics, the practical components of their independence, take up several pages of their respective Constitutions. Each of these republics has supreme bodies of the people's power, a Supreme Soviet with a Presidium, a government and a supreme court. Each one endorses a budget and passes state and local laws in keeping with the Soviet legislation. Each has the right to administer industrial and agricultural enterprises located on its territory, and also supervises housing and

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 153.

communal construction, health care, social maintenance and education.

Every autonomous republic, moreover, has a say in running the affairs of the whole state. Although different in size and the strength of population, they elect eleven deputies each to one of the chambers of the Soviet Parliament, the Soviet of Nationalities. As for the other equal chamber, the Soviet of the Union, deputies to it are elected from constituencies with the equal numbers of voters from all over the Soviet Union. As a result, the Soviet nationalities are represented in both chambers of the highest body of state authority.

A total of 3,155 deputies have been elected to the Supreme Soviets of the autonomous republics. Virtually all of the deputies have a secondary or higher education. Peoples who did not even have a written language of their own have made remarkable cultural and educational progress. In the Chechen-Ingush Republic, for instance, there were only ten teachers before the October Revolution, and a mere twelve boys from among the indigenous population attended elementary schools in Bashkiria.

The transition to the universal secondary (ten-year) education has in the main been completed throughout the Soviet Union. Higher educational institutions and national theatres, publishing houses and literatures have been established in all the autonomous republics.

Here are more facts: 97 out of every hundred young men and women, Russians, Udmurts, Yakuts, Evenks, Bashkirs and Tatars alike, continue their education after completing eight-year schools.

As a rule the intellectual potential mirrors the

economic potential, and changes in the latter as compared with the pre-revolutionary period are measured in three-digit numbers. In the Chechen-Ingush Republic, for instance, industrial output grew 100-fold in the Soviet period; the present annual gross product of Bashkiria or Udmurtia exceeds that of the whole of pre-revolutionary Russia; the Mari Autonomous Republic increased its industrial output 372-fold and the Chuvash Autonomous Republic 512-fold. In short, all the twenty autonomous republics of the Soviet Union, which are inhabited by national minorities, have been developing their economies much faster than the country as a whole. This stems from the policy of evening out living standards. Economic equality is a guarantee of political and social equality.

The Hue and Cry Over Soviet Jews: Who Wants It?

We have decided to devote a few pages of this book to the life of Soviet Jews, although they can hardly be referred to as a minority. We are doing so for the single reason that during the past few years Western propaganda has been whipping up sentiments over the so-called Jewish problem in the USSR. We are not writing for those who deliberately raise a ballyhoo over a non-existent problem. The instigators of the campaign in the media know perfectly well that there is no "Jewish problem" either in the USSR or in any other socialist country. They undoubtedly know that Jews enjoy equality in the socialist world. So it is not for them we write but for

those who are being deceived by the biased information supplied by the Western press.

What we write here about the life and work of Jews in the Soviet Union is equally true of the Ukrainians, Bashkirs, Tatars, Byelorussians, Kazakhs, Moldavians, Armenians, Letts and all the other nationalities: there are more than one hundred of them in the Soviet Union, and all of them enjoy equal rights and freedoms.

It would be far more appropriate to discuss the position of Jews in the West rather than in the Soviet Union. Indeed, why don't the "champions" of human rights and freedoms stir up the media into action over Jewish pogroms in the cities of the USA and other capitalist countries? What is it that restrains their "noble" indignation when they learn that private employers fire their employees or refuse employment to job-seekers only because they are Jews? For some unknown reason the so-called free capitalist press overlooks the fact that quite a few Jews would like to return from the "promised land" to the Soviet Union. It is these problems that merit attention, to our mind, but the Western media ignore them.

The reason for this and for numerous fabrications about the life in the Soviet Union, is the class-motivated approach of the Western press to all social and political phenomena. By distorting the truth about the world's first socialist state and passing over in silence its social and economic achievements and its vigorous struggle for world detente, the Western ideologists try to distract the attention of the working people of their own countries from outstanding domestic problems. Here is what Meir Vilner, Gen-

eral Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, said at the 25th CPSU Congress:

"Unprejudiced people know that it is not in the Soviet Union but in Israel and other countries of the so-called free world that national discrimination is practised."¹

According to the 1979 census, Jews account for 1,811,000, or less than one per cent, of the Soviet population. Of course, the Jewish population would have been greater, particularly in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic republics and Moldavia, were it not for the war unleashed on the USSR by nazi Germany. Hundreds of thousands of Jews were exterminated by the nazis in the temporarily occupied parts of the USSR. The number of nazi victims would have been far greater if the Soviet government had not taken effective measures for the massive evacuation of the population, including Jews, from the frontline areas to the east of the country. Recalling that period, the late Chief Rabbi of the Moscow Choral Synagogue, Iekhuda-Leib Levin, wrote in January 1971:

"I am grateful to our Soviet country, which has done so much for my people... The enemy was taking one city after another, but although it was a difficult time, the Soviet government found ways and means to evacuate hundreds of thousands of Jews to the deep rear of the country."

The fascist troops occupied almost the whole of Europe, and murdered Jews wherever they came—

¹ *Our Friends Speak. Greetings to the 25th CPSU Congress*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1976, pp. 116-17.

in bourgeois Poland, in Czechoslovakia, in France, in the Netherlands, in Greece and in Hungary. Some of the Jews managed to survive by paying their way out of the occupied areas. But there was only a handful of such people, those who had large accounts in the banks of Zurich, Bern, Stockholm and London. They were bankers and factory owners who exploited hundreds of workers, including the poor Jews. And it was the poor Jews—repairmen, cobblers, dress-makers, barbers, doctors and teachers who perished, because they had been abandoned by the fathers of "Western democracy". Western propaganda does not mention this fact although it shows so much concern about the Jewish "question" today.

Anti-Semitism and Its Roots

Marxism-Leninism approaches the Jewish "question" from the point of view of scientific communism. National feuds, conflicts and inequality of peoples are caused by social conflicts and by the laws of the exploiting society, and can be eradicated only with the victory of socialism.

"Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism—these are the two irreconcilably hostile slogans that correspond to the two great class camps throughout the capitalist world, and express the *two* policies, (nay, the two world outlooks) in the national question,"¹ wrote Lenin:

The national question was particularly acute in such a multinational state as tsarist Russia, in which the Russians constituted three-fourths of the popula-

tion. The Bolsheviks fought hard to abolish all forms of national oppression long before the revolution.

So what was the nature of the Jewish "question" in pre-revolutionary Russia? The Jews, in Lenin's words, were "the most oppressed and persecuted"¹ people, and the responsibility for their plight fully rested with the tsarist authorities who were unable to cope with the social problems and incited the animosity of the masses towards the oppressed peoples, particularly the Jews.

The so-called pale was established for the Jews in Russia, and they were officially forbidden to reside in the capital of the empire and in its major cities, to engage in crop farming, to hold government posts or be members of the local bodies of self-government. Their main pursuits were trade and the handicrafts. The law also restricted the right of Jews to receive an education.

There were, of course, wealthy Jews who led easy lives, such as bankers, rich merchants, and factory owners. They were received in high society and enjoyed all the fruits of civilisation. Moreover, they could buy a title and become baptised.

The pre-revolutionary rulers of Russia deliberately encouraged great-power chauvinism. They tried to implant among the Russians prejudice and animosity towards the non-Russians, such as the Chuvashes, Tatars, Bashkirs, Poles, Ukrainians and Uzbeks. In short, the tsarist authorities did not invent anything new in the sphere of relations between nationalities but made use of the "divide and rule" principle of the medieval feudal lords. This principle continues to serve capitalists of all nationalities to this day.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 26.

¹ Ibid.

Small wonder that no Jewish banker, factory owner or rich merchant suffered in the numerous countrywide pogroms instigated by the Black Hundred (die-hard Russian reactionaries who organised pogroms). Racists' fury was unleashed against the Jewish poor whose homes were set ablaze by fanatic anti-Semites, while major stock-holders, Russians and Jews alike, counted their profits in luxurious mansions behind lowered curtains.

The Jewish bourgeoisie never protested or used its wealth against the atrocities perpetrated by the rampaging anti-Semites. Actually, the anti-Semites and the Jewish bourgeoisie worked together and pursued common interests. Lenin pointed out: "The capitalists and landowners want, at all costs, to keep the workers of different nations apart while the powers that be live splendidly together as share holders in profitable concerns involving millions (such as the Lena Goldfields); Orthodox Christians and Jews, Russians and Germans, Poles and Ukrainians, everyone who possesses *capital*, exploit the workers of all nations in company."¹

Let us recall the lessons of World War II. What were they? Let the reader himself answer this question; we will only supply certain facts, which are overlooked by the Zionists and by the bourgeois newspaper, radio and TV services controlled by them.

— After Hitler came to power in Germany, close contacts and cooperation continued between the nazi thugs and the Zionist leaders.

— The trial which took place in Jerusalem in 1952 disclosed facts of cooperation between the nazi

executioner Karl Adolf Eichmann and the leader of the Hungarian Zionists, Rudolf Kastner. Kastner and his henchmen knew that the nazis were going to send all the Hungarian Jews to death camps and gas chambers, but they preferred to conceal the truth from the masses because Eichmann guaranteed emigration to Palestine for the Zionist moneybags.

It is only for the sake of appearances that Zionism opposes anti-Semitism, while in reality it breeds alienation and isolation in the working-class movement by preaching the invented primogeniture of the Jews, who supposedly hold a special status among other nations. In practice this only perpetuates the "ghetto mentality" inherited from the ignominious past.

Addressing Jewish workers in 1905, Lenin wrote: "In Russia the workers of all nationalities, especially those of non-Russian nationality, endure an economic and political oppression such as obtains in no other country. The Jewish workers, as a disfranchised nationality, not only suffer general economic and political oppression, but they also suffer under the yoke which deprives them of elementary civic rights. The heavier this yoke, the greater the need for the closest possible unity among the proletarians of the different nationalities; for without such unity a victorious struggle against the general oppression is impossible."²

No political party opposed national oppression as consistently as the party led by Lenin. The Bolsheviks were only preparing for the revolution when, in March 1914, Lenin drafted a law abolishing all restrictions on the rights of the Jews as well as all

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 92.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, p. 495.

restrictions related to national origin or race. The draft was published in the newspaper *Put pravdy* in 1914 and played an important role in exposing the nationalities policy of tsarism.

When he examined ways of resolving the "Jewish question" as part of the national question, Lenin pointed out that, from the point of view of its class composition, the Jewish population did not basically differ from all the other peoples and nationalities. He said in his speech "Anti-Jewish Pogroms" in late March 1919: "Among the Jews there are working people, and they form the majority. They are our brothers, who, like us, are oppressed by capital; they are our comrades in the struggle for socialism. Among the Jews there are kulaks, exploiters and capitalists, just as there are among the Russians, and among people of all nations ... Rich Jews, like rich Russians, and the rich in all countries, are in alliance to oppress, crush, rob and disunite the workers."¹

The Jewish question could be resolved only by the socialist revolution. The Bolsheviks worked for the unity of workers of all nationalities in all the workers' organisations, including trade unions and cooperative, consumer, educational and all other organisations, in order to counteract all manifestations of bourgeois nationalism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 forever abolished national oppression. The social causes of anti-Semitism were uprooted and the conditions for its existence were eliminated. On July 25, 1918, Lenin, the head of the Soviet government,

signed a decree outlawing anti-Semitism.

The Council of People's Commissars (as the Soviet government was called at the time) instructed all the Soviets of Deputies to take strong action to stamp out the anti-Semitic movement. The elements instigating pogroms and carrying out anti-Semitic agitation were outlawed.

The Soviet government abolished the "Jewish pale", quotas on enrolment in educational establishments and the ban on crop farming. Like representatives of other peoples, the Jews were widely involved in running the affairs of the state.

Outstanding revolutionaries, Lenin's associates and leaders of the Soviet state, among them Yakov Sverdlov, V. Volodarsky (Moisei Goldstein), Moisei Uritsky and Solomon Lazovsky, came from the midst of the Jewish workers and intellectuals. They joined the revolution as representatives of an exploited and oppressed people, and struggled for equality and freedom for all peoples.

Now as before, Jews are prominent in all spheres of state and economic management, science, education, literature and art in the USSR. Soviet Jews hold ministerial posts both in the Union government and in the governments of Union and autonomous republics; there are 8,000 of them among the deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics and local Soviets.

Like other nationalities inhabiting the Soviet Union, the Jews were granted the right to national self-determination: the Jewish Autonomous Region was established on May 7, 1934. Today there are 50 major factories in the region, producing diverse machinery, clothing, furniture and footwear. The

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, pp. 252-53.

region's agriculture is making good progress.

The formation of the Jewish Autonomous Region does not mean that Jews must live only in that area. Every Soviet citizen is free to choose his place of residence, and, as before, many Jews live in the west and south of the country, in the capitals of the Union republics, such as Kiev, Tashkent, Tbilisi, Minsk and Riga, and in such major cities as Odessa, Lvov, Mogilev, Gomel and Bukhara. When the Jewish pale was abolished after the revolution, tens of thousands of Jews moved to Leningrad and Moscow.

"Educated" Jews and Educational Opportunities for Soviet Jews

Zionist propaganda in the West widely circulates the myth that Soviet Jews are unable to make use of the education they received and their remarkable enterprise. This absurdity, however, is belied by actual facts.

Although Soviet Jews constitute less than one per cent of the country's population, they account for 6.1 per cent of its scientific workers, including 14 per cent of its doctors of sciences and 8.2 per cent of its candidates of sciences; 5.2 per cent of its artists; 6.2 per cent of its men of letters and pressmen; 3.4 per cent of its medical personnel; and 6.7 per cent of its lawyers.

There are over 350 students per 10,000 of the Jewish population, making up a total of over 106,000.

The high educational standards of Jews, however, are not explained by their special qualities, as the

Zionists claim. This phenomenon is typical of the national minorities in the Soviet Union; the peoples who had been subjected for many years to national and social oppression were granted free access to education and employment by the Soviet government, and they are making good use of this right. Jews, like representatives of all other nationalities, are not prevented from enrolling at institutions of higher learning or post-graduate courses; just like Russians, Byelorussians, Letts or Uzbeks, they go in for scientific work, are accorded academic degrees, and contribute to Soviet science and culture.

The names of outstanding scientists, members of the USSR Academy of Sciences and many foreign academies, are well known in the USSR and abroad; among them are Academician Yakov Zeldovich, three times Hero of Socialist Labour, and Academicians Semyon Volkovich, Isaak Mints, Leonid Kantorovich, Israel Gelfand and Alexander Frumkin.

Jews have made a major contribution to the progress of the multinational Soviet literature, and the work of such writers as Samuil Marshak, Pavel Antokolsky, Vera Inber, Mikhail Svetlov, Natan Rybak and Alexander Chakovsky has become widely popular among the Soviet people.

The violinists David Oistrakh and Leonid Kogan have made a remarkable contribution to world music and have drawn large crowds of admirers in many countries. The names of the film-makers Mikhail Romm, Sergei Yutkevich and Roman Karmen and the ballerina Maya Plisetskaya are famous both in the USSR and abroad. Songs by the Pokrass brothers and Isaak Dunayevsky are sung all over the world.

Books by Jewish authors are published in big editions both in Yiddish and in the languages of other Soviet peoples. Between 1967 and 1972 alone, 17 million copies of books by Jewish authors were published in the languages of the Soviet peoples; in the same period 37,000 books were published in Yiddish.

The Jewish literary monthly journal *Sovietish Heimland* has been published in Moscow (circulation of 25,000) since 1961; along with Soviet authors, it prints works by Jewish writers from Poland, the USA, France, Israel, Argentina and other countries.

The daily *Birobijaner Stern* is published in Yiddish and comes out in Birobidzhan, the centre of the Jewish Autonomous Region; Jews living in various parts of the country subscribe to it.

So this is what they call discrimination against Jews in the USSR. The myth is dispelled as people in the capitalist countries learn the truth about the Soviet Union and the life of its multinational population. But since some people in the West still believe such myths, the interests of peace and friendship make it necessary to expose the allegations of the capitalist propaganda and its attacks on the forces of democracy and socialism.

Who Leaves the USSR, and Why?

One of the latest myths produced by Western propaganda alleges that there are "artificial restrictions" on the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel. But *The White Book* published in the Soviet Union in 1979 convincingly dispells this myth. Here is what a Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR said

(p. 143): "From the end of World War II to September 1978, a total of 168,000 Jews left our country, mostly to reunite with their families. Exit visas were refused to only 2,249 persons, or 1.6 per cent of the total; 98.4 per cent of requests for exit visas were granted."

In the same period as many as 1.5 million Jews emigrated to Israel from different countries. As we see, the Soviet Jews account for a small portion of this number, and fewer and fewer Jews now leave the USSR. The dramatic reduction in the number of those who would like to leave for Israel is not a purely Soviet phenomenon; the Israeli authorities themselves had to admit a marked drop in immigration. In 1975, for instance, the number of newcomers decreased by half as compared with 1974, and in 1974 their number was 42 per cent less than in 1973.

The natural decrease in immigration to Israel is sometimes explained in the West as Moscow's restrictions on the departure of Jews, and consequent violation of human rights. Is this really so?

Anyone wishing to leave the Soviet Union needs only to submit an application stating his wish to the local bodies of internal affairs, and fill a form giving his name, date and place of birth, etc. The Soviet laws and emigration rules fully conform with the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 16, 1966. The restrictions which are invoked from time to time are directly stipulated by the Covenant; it says, in particular, that a person's right to leave his own country for permanent residence in another may be subject to restric-

tions which are necessary "to protect national security, public order (ordre public), public health or morals or the rights and freedoms of others".

There are many reasons for human migration. Firstly, the USSR cooperates with almost all countries, and people stay abroad for a long time. Secondly, young men and women from many European, Asian, African and Latin American countries attend Soviet institutions of higher learning. Small wonder that in the past few years some 10,500 Soviet citizens have married foreigners and followed their spouses to over 100 countries.¹

As for Jews, fewer and fewer of them wish to leave the Soviet Union. Indeed, why should a man leave a country in which he was born and received an education, a country in which he has a decent job, enjoys rights and freedoms? Why should he abandon relations and friends who are dear to him for the sake of unknown relatives in a strange country?

Many of the Jews who left the Soviet Union for Israel curse the day when they allowed themselves to be influenced by the foreign radio stations broadcasting to the USSR, and decided to leave. They believed that they would make a fortune under the conditions of "free enterprise", but many of them eventually found themselves jobless, homeless and quite destitute. What is more, they had nowhere to go and no one to complain to. Things had seemed so simple in the Soviet Union. For instance, the manager could not fire you unless the trade union committee gave its consent. Even if the committee

mistakenly endorsed the manager's illegal ruling, you had nothing to fear because you could take your case to the court. If you were in the right, the court would oblige the management, in full conformity with Soviet law, to reinstate you in your old job with the same wages and to pay you for your forced idleness.

A young man who dreamed of making big money in Israel finds things really hard. You have to pay for education, for example, whereas in the USSR there is no need to think about money in order to pay your way through higher school: just pass the competitive entrance examinations and you are enrolled. There are no tuition fees; conversely, the government pays students a monthly scholarship. Our hapless young man had enjoyed all these rights until he decided to leave the "totalitarian state" for the "free world". This "freedom", however, turned out to be a beggar's stale crust and odd jobs sometimes.

Here is what V.S. Etlis, Doctor of Chemistry and professor from the city of Dzerzhinsk, wrote to the editors of the Soviet *Literaturnaya gazeta*: "My life is an example of how Jews are 'persecuted' in our country. After secondary school I went to the front. When the war was over, I was given a chance to study. In 1950 I graduated from an institution of higher learning, got my candidate's degree seven years later and my doctorate in 1965. Who dares to say that I am 'persecuted'? Far from it, gentlemen! It is not the plight of Soviet Jews that is your headache. You have very different purposes. You are trying to discredit communism, to undermine the Soviet Union's international prestige and to deal a blow to international detente."

¹ *The White Book*, Moscow, 1979, p. 143 (in Russian).

These are the true reasons for the decrease in the flow of emigrants from the Soviet Union to Israel, and no other reasons are true.

Emigration for the purpose of reunification of families or caused by marriage to foreigners is likely to continue: after all, relations between countries are extending, and human contacts grow accordingly. The solution of these interstate problems is provided for by the corresponding articles of the UN Covenant on Human Rights and the Helsinki Final Act. The Soviet Union has ratified them and is honouring their letter and spirit. This ground was covered by the Law on the Citizenship of the USSR, which was endorsed on December 1, 1978. The Law stipulates the reasons for acquiring and losing Soviet citizenship and, in particular, deals with certain problems related to marriage and the family. Incidentally, in approaching these matters, the Soviet Union proceeds from the constitutional principle of equality between man and woman; for instance, if any Soviet woman marries a foreigner, she does not thereby lose her Soviet citizenship.

"No One Prevents Jews from Worshipping Their God"

One of the tales told in the West alleges that religious Jews have no houses of worship in the Soviet Union, and therefore have nowhere to go in order to pray to their God.

Yakov Fishman, Rabbi of the Moscow Choral Synagogue, had the following to say on this score:

"The activities of the Zionists, who slander the position of Soviet Jews, were strongly condemned by the clergy and faithful of the Jewish religious com-

munities of the USSR in 1971. Representatives of 40 synagogues from the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldavia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, assembled for a conference and denounced the allegations of certain Western newspapers that Soviet Jews were discriminated against, in particular, that they were not free to attend the synagogue.

"I declare with all responsibility that the religious Jews of the Soviet Union are entirely free to profess their religion. No one has ever prevented Jews from worshipping their God in the synagogues or performing religious rites."

We would like to quote other sources confirming this. The Western reader is, perhaps, familiar with Vladimir Rosen's substantive article "The Church and the State", which was published in many languages by the Soviet weekly *New Times*, No. 8, 1979. The author has studied the religious situation in the Soviet Union and provided interesting information.

There are 92 Jewish congregations and synagogues in the USSR. But since services need not necessarily be conducted by a rabbi or in a synagogue, there are small congregations that do not have a synagogue or a rabbi and worship in prayer houses.

The religious Jewish community of Moscow, whose spiritual needs are attended to by the Choral Synagogue, publishes diverse literature—prayer books, Jewish calendars, and the Pentateuch. An album of photographs of the religious life of the Jewish believers has been put out. The community has a Yeshivah, a school training rabbis, cantors, readers of the Torah, and ritual butchers. Three future rabbis study in Budapest. Matzoth is regularly baked for religious holi-

days: 170 tons was put out in 1978 alone. The sale of matzoth provides the community with a sizable income.

Like the followers of other religions, the Jewish religious community of Moscow maintains different contacts with foreign countries. For instance, it imports religious literature and accessories such as tallithes and phylacteries, receives visitors from abroad and sends its representatives to other countries.

While the author of the article was talking to Yakov Mikenberg, Chairman of the Moscow Jewish community, an elderly Jewish couple from New York came to see him. As a young man, the elderly furrier and his wife fled from nazi persecution in Germany to the United States. Indoctrinated as he was by Western propaganda about the situation of Jews in the USSR, the religious man was convinced that Soviet Jews were persecuted and denied freedom to profess their religion.

When in Moscow, the visitor was surprised to find that no one had stopped him and his wife at the entrance to the synagogue. Inside he saw men in tallithes praying and others reading aloud from holy book...

The truth is that religious Jews feel the Soviet government's daily concern about the observance of the rights of all believers. The Soviet Constitution guarantees all citizens of the USSR freedom of conscience, there is strict administrative and criminal prosecution in store for those who violate these rights.

We would like to finish our discussion of the "Jewish problem" in the USSR by one of the numerous stories told by those who returned from Israel to the Soviet Union.

"I left for Israel in March, 1972, and was accompanied by my wife, two children and my mother," says B. I. Bravstein, a construction engineer from Kiev. "We came to realise that everything in the 'Jewish state' was alien to us—its culture, ideology and even the people's mentality. Zionist propaganda deceives Soviet Jews and the world public in general. Under the pretext of concern about the fate of Soviet Jews, the Zionists recruit them to go to Israel and virtually enslave them upon arrival there. The fascists and the Zionists have the same racist ideology, which the Soviet people abhor.

"If you meet somebody who starts denigrating the position of Soviet Jews and advertising life in Tel Aviv, he is sure to be a Zionist, who advocates and serves imperialism and opposes peace, friendship and national freedom."

The country's new Constitution declares that the Soviet state has ensured the juridical and factual equality of all its nations and nationalities, which continue developing and are drawn ever closer together. Socialism has solved the national question and radically transformed the destinies of the peoples inhabiting the outlying national areas.

The term "national minorities" has now acquired a new legal and social meaning. All our small nationalities feel that they are equals in the big family of the Soviet peoples—politically and economically and enjoy equal rights and freedoms.

What the Soviet Union has done for its nationalities is not charity but a revolutionary change, which demonstrates the genuine democracy and humanism of socialist society.

Freedom of Speech as Viewed by the Soviet Union and the West

After the Helsinki Conference the words "information exchanges", "a free flow of information" and "exchanges of cultural values" gained currency in the world press.

The Soviet Union enthusiastically welcomes this tendency. A free flow of information promotes detente and friendship among nations, closer business contacts between East and West and dialogue as a means of settling international disputes. The Soviet state, public organisations of the working people and the press are doing everything possible to ensure that an exchange of information helps people to learn more about each other. Radio broadcasts, newspapers, journals and books tell people of other countries about the Soviet Union, the life of its people, the objectives of the Communist Party and its programme, and the benefits the October Revolution and developed socialism have given our people. All this contributes to a better understanding and closer cooperation, on a mutually beneficial basis, between countries with different social systems. The Soviet press gives objective coverage to all world developments.

The Freedom Born of Socialism

The freedom of speech guaranteed to Soviet citizens is intrinsic to socialist society. Its political and legal aspects are written into the Soviet Constitution, and

the law guarantees freedom of speech, of the press, meetings, assemblies and demonstrations.

The Soviet people view freedom of speech, just like freedom in general, as a motive force behind social progress. They mean by it a freedom promoting the interests and aspirations of the working masses, and inspiring them to great deeds. Freedom of speech is directly related to the establishment of lasting world peace.

The point here is: freedom for whom? For what class? Socialism asserts freedom of speech for the working people. There are political and social freedoms in the Soviet Union; these freedoms are real and natural, just as Soviet reality is itself. Here are several facts illustrating this point.

Fact One. In 1977, the year of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, a new Constitution was widely discussed and subsequently adopted in the USSR. The Soviet state is a state of the whole people; friendly classes of workers, peasants and the people's intelligentsia living and working side by side in the state, constitute the Soviet people. The draft Constitution was published by the press to enable the people to publicly and freely discuss the new Fundamental Law. Incidentally, the Soviet Union publishes 7,936 newspapers with a daily circulation of 171 million copies. Altogether 4,838 journals and magazines with an annual circulation of 3,120,000,000 copies come out as well. The draft Constitution was published in all the national languages spoken in the country. This is only one example of the freedom of the press in the Soviet Union.

Fact Two. When the countrywide discussion of the draft Constitution got under way, 1,500,000 meetings

took place at factories, collective and state farms, and in party, trade union and Komsomol organisations throughout the country. All told, over 140 million people took part in discussing the new Fundamental Law. Altogether about 400,000 proposals were submitted to the Constitutional Commission by people from different age groups, walks of life, nations and nationalities, both Communists and non-party people. They thoroughly and constructively analysed the draft Constitution and voiced their proposals on improving its text, and also made other remarks pertaining to various aspects of the life of Soviet society. The Constitutional Commission carefully examined the proposals it received and recommended that the USSR Supreme Soviet changed 110 articles of the draft Constitution on their basis and added one more, dealing with the role and importance of work collectives in the life of society.

Fact Three. Controversial and downright unacceptable proposals were made during the discussion. They were published as well. Here are some of them.

It was proposed that equal wages and social security benefits be established for all regardless of the working record, skills, qualifications and quality of work. To put this proposal into effect would mean lumping together those who work well, improve their knowledge and skills, on the one hand, and those who have a lackadaisical attitude to work and produce substandard output, on the other. Society cannot be indifferent to how people work. The wages, salaries and pensions paid by the state should correspond to the contribution made by everyone in terms of both quantity and quality to the common cause of the people. This is the fairest approach to the problem

of remunerating work, and the Soviet Union lives by the socialist principle, "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work". It is impossible to abandon this principle given the present level of economic development and the consciousness of a certain section of the population. Naturally, the proposal was turned down.

There were those who suggested that personal, subsidiary plots of land be abolished or drastically restricted. Practice has shown, however, that this form of production, which does not involve the exploitation of man by man, has a positive role to play in the economy today. This was why the Constitution stipulated that the state and the collective farms should give citizens assistance in cultivating their subsidiary plots.

The article fixing the term of office of the local Soviets at two and a half years caused a lot of lively debate. It was proposed that the term be extended to five years so that deputies should better learn their duties and work more effectively. The adoption of this proposal would have meant, however, that the number of working people learning to administer state affairs in the Soviets would have drastically diminished. At the same time, nothing and no one can prevent voters from nominating a deputy for another term provided he has been working well. This is just what is happening in practice: over half the deputies get elected for another term, which helps maintain continuity in the work of the Soviets.

The Constitutional Commission also received letters suggesting that governmental functions be handed over directly to the party organs, that the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee be given

legislative power, etc. Once it had become the ruling party, the CPSU firmly stated, back at the 8th Congress (1919), that it intended to have its decisions fulfilled "through Soviet bodies and within the framework of the Soviet Constitution"; in guiding the activities of the Soviets, the party does no replace them and differentiates between the functions of party and government bodies. This consistent party line was explicitly reflected in the new Constitution as well.

Freedom of speech is intrinsic to Soviet democracy because socialist democracy is impossible without a free discussion of the outstanding problems of social life. Even when the countrywide discussion on the Constitution was virtually over, and the Commission, having drawn general conclusions from it, tabled their proposals at the USSR Supreme Soviet, deputies came up with more suggestions. For instance, V. Meunargiya, a farm machine-operator from Georgia, and I. Prokofiev, a rolling-mill operator from Leningrad, suggested that it should be written into the Constitution that the Soviet state encouraged innovation and a creative attitude to work; Valentina Nikolayeva-Tereshkova, President of the Soviet Women's Committee, and Zinaida Pukhova, Director of the Ivanovo textile mill, came out for a gradual reduction in the working hours of women with small children. Proposals were also made by the writers Alexander Chakovsky and Rasul Gamzatov among others. In this way the Supreme Soviet made another 11 amendments to the Constitution.¹

Those who objectively followed the discussion of

¹ *The Constitution of the State of the Whole People*, Moscow, 1978, pp. 163, 164, 165 (in Russian).

the Soviet Constitution could see that the Soviet press was giving fair coverage to different viewpoints on one and the same question. But the main thing was that the people expressed their concern for the further progress of their country and for strengthening world peace.

Objectivity and frankness constitute the principles of the Soviet press, bodies of government and public meetings. The Soviet people hear nothing but the truth from the media, be it the joyful truth of victory or the bitter truth of defeat. Of course, they are surprised and even angered when the so-called free press in the West juggles with the facts and deliberately distorts reality. This sort of information does not enjoy people's trust, nor does it serve their common interests or promote mutual understanding and cooperation among them.

Soviet newspapers and magazines are published by the government, the Communist Party, the trade unions, artistic unions and youth organisations. But whether a newspaper or magazine is the organ of the Party's Central Committee, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the Soviet Writers' Union or the Ministry of Defence, it never preaches war. The Soviet press and journalists never intervene in the internal affairs of any state. The Soviet press has for several years been objectively, without inciting animosity between countries, covering the Soviet-American talks on the limitation of strategic offensive arms (SALT-II). This document, signed in Vienna in 1979, was enthusiastically welcomed throughout the world as an act of equal importance to the Soviet and American peoples and to all those fighting for world peace.

The policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet government aims at ensuring peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, at promoting businesslike cooperation between them, at consolidating peace and at facilitating the social progress of all nations. It is the duty of journalists and writers and of all radio and TV networks to wholeheartedly promote this policy and protect it from hostile attacks. The Soviet Communist Party's peace policy is being consistently and perseveringly explained by all the mass media. We wholly subscribe to and faithfully observe the agreements reached at the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Whatever we write about, the successes and shortcomings in our country or the life of people, parties and governments in other states, we adhere to the truth and to justice.

The Soviet People Do Not Conceal Their Sympathies

The Soviet press carries feature stories, articles and news items on the production achievements of the Soviet people. At the same time it publishes articles of a different nature, levelling sharp criticism at shortcomings in the work of economic and government bodies. Abuses are exposed and those guilty of bureaucracy are named. Although the truth may be bitter, it is never hushed up.

Soviet newspapers, magazines and radio stations call imperialist policy what it is—imperialist—which ever capitalist country is pursuing it. The whole world knows what a large-scale and unflagging public cam-

paign was carried out in the USSR against the US aggression in Indochina. The Soviet people were in sympathy with the nations of Indochina and strongly condemned the US aggression together with all progressive people because it aimed at enslaving nations and crushing their rights and freedoms. A consistent and persevering struggle was waged for the independence of Vietnam. Now the world at large has witnessed a history-making victory: Vietnam has become free and united, has won independence and is building a new life in keeping with its national interests and the interests of universal peace.

The Soviet press is equally concerned with providing continuous information about the struggle of the working people in the West against the oppression of monopolies. Newspapers and radio stations point out that under galloping inflation working people demand higher wages and better working conditions. Actual developments in the Western countries are reported. Solidarity with the working class is expressed and the activities of the ruling classes are commented on. The Soviet press says, for instance, that capitalist countries and their governments use the trust of their peoples actually to protect the interests of the propertied classes to the detriment of the working class. We ask why they tread upon the interests of this class, which produces all material, cultural and intellectual values, but is actually denied the possibility of using them? Our answer is that this takes place because the working class in the capitalist countries is fully excluded from government.

Do these facts show that the Soviet working people are wholly on the side of the proletariat, fighting against exploitation of the working man? Undoubt-

edly they do! Making use of freedom of speech, Soviet workers, scientists and journalists voice their point of view. This is their constitutional right, and no one is going to conceal whose side the Soviet people are on. Solidarity with class brothers should not be interpreted as intervention in the internal affairs of states and nations.

The Soviet Press: Focus on the Working People

Work in the Soviet Union is the basis of production growth and the means by which the individual can develop in every way. Socialism has produced an effective way of allowing man to fully realise his potential in work—socialist emulation. It helps the working man develop his abilities, display his initiative at work, raise his productivity and earn higher wages. This is why socialist emulation has encompassed all Soviet work collectives both in production and in science and the services. The mass media is primarily focused on labour activity. Here are a few examples dating from the summer of 1979.

On June 29, 1979, one of the most popular Soviet newspapers, *Sovetskaya Rossia*, printed in the centre of a page a portrait of A. Alexeyev, the leader of a builders' team at the Angara timber-processing complex. This construction project has started in Siberia, which is going through a period of change and is famous for its working people and their production accomplishments. The beautiful and wild Angara River has been spanned by dams and made to produce electricity and heat. The newspaper reported that

the first unit of the world's largest timber processing complex was soon to go into operation and the first batches of cellulose were to be produced on the banks of the Angara, at Ust-Ilimsk.

On July 1, 1979, front page of *Sotsialisticheskaya industria* featured a portrait of A. Pechnikova, an adjustment worker in the electric equipment shop of a Moscow auto and tractor electric equipment plant. The woman was photographed at her place of work. She was smiling, happy that she had met the targets of four years of the five-year plan period six months before schedule.

On the same day the newspaper *Selskaya zhizn* accompanied its news items with wide-angle photographs illustrating progress in crop farming in the country. They show the boundless fields of the Frunze collective farm in the Belgorod Region, where machines were taking in a crop of sugar beets. The photo shows A. Astapenko, a veteran beet-grower, and A. Kutsenko, his young colleague, who harvested 350 centners of sugar beet per hectare. Their achievement was a heartening one, for apart from sugar, a good deal of fodder was obtained from this crop, meaning meat and milk for the people.

The newspaper *Lesnaya promyshlennost* carries a news item complete with a photograph showing endless stacks of sawn timber which even several dozen trains would have had difficulty taking away. The photograph was taken in the far-away Komi Autonomous Republic, where a large team of builders from Bulgaria are working. Using Soviet designs and expert assistance, the Bulgarians have built three major timber-production complexes there, well-appointed settlements with multi-storey blocks of flats,

schools, culture centres, health care institutions, kindergartens and nurseries. All timber-production complexes are mechanised. Mutually beneficial Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation in timber production is expanding in the north of the European part of the USSR. Another large timber-production complex is now being built. The photograph mentioned above shows the Bulgarian specialist Pyotr Antov and the Soviet technician Konstantin Tsitseroshin, working side by side to build the complex. Their shock work is inspired by the great ideas of friendship between these two fraternal nations.

Thus fame comes to ordinary Soviet people through their work, and this gives them pride of place in newspapers. They are the first to be mentioned in radio news bulletins and frequently appear in TV programmes. Soviet society is a society of working people and values its members first and foremost for their work done for the benefit of the people, and not for noble origins or bulging pockets. Those who work for the benefit of society should be known not only by name: people want to know what they look like. This is a Soviet tradition.

"Tell Me Who Your Friend Is and I'll Tell You Who You Are"

Needless to say, the mass media bear great responsibility for establishing and improving contacts between all nations and for asserting the spirit of Helsinki in the world, a spirit of peace and cooperation among nations. The Helsinki Final Act demands that the realities of the cold war, the lying, slander, mis-

information and ideological subversion still practiced under the guise of "free flow of information", should be cast aside. Incidentally, the principle of "free flow of information", used by the enemies of detente, is nothing new: it was exploited on a large scale by the leaders of Nazi Germany in pursuing their aggressive policy. Way back before World War II, Austria, one of the neighbours of the Third Reich, began jamming hostile broadcasts from Germany for the first time in history. In September 1936, a conference of the League of Nations in Geneva adopted an international convention on the use of broadcasting in the interest of peace; it was supported by delegates from 37 countries.

But the "free flow of information" slogan surfaced again once World War II had ended. No sooner had the grave war-inflicted wounds healed than the cold war broke out. Detente has been achieved through the efforts of the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and the progressive world public, which are also working for peaceful coexistence. However, the airwaves, along with newspaper stalls and bookshops, continue to be cluttered with all sorts of slanderous anti-Soviet allegations.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty make out that they try to give the Soviet people a better knowledge of the reality around them. They pose as friends of the USSR. But if they were really sincere, one would expect them every now and then to give air time to those who live in the Soviet Union, create its wealth, and build new cities and factories. These people would be listened to all over the world, and Soviet listeners would not switch off their receivers.

But what can be said about the present contributors

to Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe? Tuning in to the broadcasts put out by these "free" radio stations, Soviet listeners came to the firm conclusion that no honest or self-respecting journalist would cooperate with them. It is haven for all sorts of "has-beens": the family of the former owner of the Mikhelson plant in Moscow, Tsvirka, a former nazi agent in occupied Byelorussia; Finkelstein, who at one time sold saccharine on the black market, and a former SS officer Yusuf-Ogly. What can one expect but lies and hostility from people who committed grave crimes but got away with them? And this is precisely what these radio stations fill the air with.

Feigning concern for "freedom" and "human rights" in the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community, the proponents of a "free flow of information" claim that they, representatives of the capitalist world, have a special mission of propagating all sorts of information, and that they should do so "freely" and without any control. A Commission on International Radio Broadcasting set up in the US in August 1972 by Richard Nixon, then the President of the country, officially stated that access to information was necessary in Eastern Europe so that people there could appraise from a "sensible and responsible point of view" the developments within their own countries and on the international scene, that is, from the US point of view and not otherwise.

The peoples of the USSR, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and other socialist countries have never authorised Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe to do this. No statements to this effect have been made by

the governments of these countries. No petitions have been submitted by any party or trade union from Eastern Europe. However, there have been numerous protests and demands to stop the subversive activities of air pirates from Free Europe and Liberty. But they still continue poisoning the air maliciously slandering free peoples. Should one listen to these radio stations alone or to others of that ilk and believe them at least for a moment, one's picture of the world will be different from what it really is. According to them, Cuba is threatening the US and the Afghan revolution has no popular support... Lies and misinformation keep piling up.

Why then do certain forces in the West, where there has been so much talk about human rights and freedoms, try to prevent the peoples of the Soviet Union and other countries from deciding independently what broadcasts they will listen to? Why do those champions of "freedom" fill the air with outrageous lies? How can they hold forth on freedom and at the same time try to impose their ideas by means of misinformation and slander? This is ideological enslavement and not freedom!

Soviet people do not shy from criticism. However harsh it might be, the Soviet press will bring it to the people. Take, for instance, a book written by the British science-fiction writer Herbert Wells, who came to Soviet Russia shortly after the 1917 October Socialist Revolution.

This was a time of trial for the country. Following World War I and the Civil War, the young Soviet Republic lay in ruins. Factories stood idle without raw materials, mines were flooded by retreating coun-

ter-revolutionary forces, and bridges and roads were destroyed. Lenin, the head of the Soviet government, described in a talk with Herbert Wells a very different Russia which was to rise from the ashes, a prosperous and thriving Russia flooded with a sea of electric light. The science-fiction writer called the leader of the Russian Revolution "the Kremlin dreamer" and wrote about this in his book *Russia in the Shadows*.

The book was published in Soviet Russia and was reprinted several times, so that readers could know what the Soviet country looked like to foreign visitors.

Several books, *Ten Days That Shook the World* by the US author John Reed, *Future of Freedom* by the Canadian writers Dyson and Charlotte Carter and *Journey to the Soviet Trade Unions* by the US journalist Charles Aleen, have been published in Russian, to name but a few. Recently the Soviet Trade Unions' Publishing House put out a book called *Meetings on Soviet Soil*, which includes articles by 12 journalists from different countries and their impressions of the USSR. So now the Soviet people are able to know what foreign authors write about them for readers in their own countries. These are truthful accounts of the socialist state, and they are put out by Soviet publishing houses.

Soviet people are opposed to any misinformation. This is why they cannot approve of the position taken by West Germany. Bonn regularly renews broadcasting licenses for Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, and also their leases on buildings and plots of land. How can a sovereign state tolerate odious foreign radio centres on its territory? The West German

Constitution proclaims that "activities capable of disrupting nations peacefully living together and undertaken with this purpose ... are anti-constitutional and should be punished". In the meantime Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, whose activities are incompatible with the development of good-neighbourly peaceful cooperation, are broadcasting from West German territory.

Equality as a Principle of International Cooperation

An exchange of information between countries has become a vital requirement of the peoples of different countries. As for the Soviet Union, it is using every way to broaden information exchanges on a mutually beneficial and friendly basis. These two principles—mutual benefit and friendliness—are no impediment to anyone: equality has always been a sound condition of cooperation. However, although the Soviet Union has been pursuing this policy since the earliest days of its existence, Western propaganda keeps blaming the USSR for hampering East-West dialogue by refusing to reprint one or another article from the Western press.

But what we do not reprint is prohibited for publication in the USSR by law: the propaganda of fascism, war, national animosity and chauvinism is not allowed in the USSR, and pornography is not printed either. Soviet newspapers do not write about the high life because there are no princes, counts, factory owners and bankers in the USSR. Instead, Soviet newspapers will print the picture of a pro-

duction innovator and an article about a worker or collective farmer as well as those on writers, surgeons and actors. Our sympathies lie with the working people, with those who contribute to the glory and might of our country.

The Soviet press does not popularise sexual permissiveness or violence because no one in the Soviet Union is interested in this sort of propaganda. Society carefully protects the individual against the influence of the factors which, for one reason or another, could encroach on human rights and freedoms, such as physical and moral health, civic inviolability and the maintenance of good-neighbourly relations with others.

Writing about the USSR, the Soviet press does not seek to impose its political views and ideas on Soviet and foreign readers, nor does it denigrate the dignity of other nations or slur their traditions and customs. Soviet propaganda has no use for shady sensations, the private affairs of a celebrity, and never resorts to slander, misinformation or provocative statements capable of exacerbating relations between states and sowing discord between countries and nations.

This corresponds to the Helsinki Agreement whereby every state has the right "freely to choose and develop its political, social, economic and cultural systems".

At the same time, the Soviet press does not circumvent the acute political and social problems facing the world today.

Adherence to party principles and to proletarian internationalism is the fundamental principle of the Soviet press whether it writes about developed cap-

italist countries or those which have just embarked on the road to independent progress. For instance, in exposing Maoism and its anti-popular policy, the Communist Party and the Soviet press do not identify the ruling élite of the People's Republic of China with the Chinese people. Strongly criticising the reactionary policy of the present-day Peking leaders, the Soviet press sympathises with the tragedy of the Chinese people, having to shoulder the economic burden caused by the militarisation of the national economy in ensuing the hegemonic ambitions of Peking. Articles and books published in the USSR show the industry of the Chinese people and their desire to live in peace and friendship with all the nations of the world.

Neither do we identify the Egyptian people with President Sadat, who unilaterally broke off the treaty of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union. To a certain extent this treaty restrained Israel's aggressiveness towards the Arab countries, whereas now Egypt, one of the victims of Israeli attack, has given a free hand to Tel Aviv. Moreover, Sadat's next step, known to the world as the Camp David deal, was another betrayal of the Arab peoples. In this Carter, Sadat and Begin trampled underfoot the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to national statehood. Does this promote detente in the Middle East? The Soviet people wonder, of course, why the US uses its economic and military might to encourage Israel's aggressiveness, to the detriment of the rights and freedoms of the Arabs, rather than to strengthen peace in the Middle East.

The Western press, which claims that it alone has freedom of speech, is publicising this deal as a great

step towards a peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem. But can an invasion of the territory of other nations be termed an act of peace? What people can mistake enslavement for freedom? Lies, however well dressed up, can never pass for the truth.

Speaking for the Soviet public, the press of our country gives a principled appraisal of the Camp David "guarantees". Isn't it obvious that these guarantees encouraged Israel to seize more land and help US imperialism to maintain its military presence in the Middle East?

So what rights and freedoms can the Egyptians speak about if they are bound by an agreement imposed on them by a stronger party? What rights and freedoms were there in Rhodesia, governed by the stooges of an overseas power? Iran and Afghanistan were faced with the threat of complete loss of independence as US imperialism was getting ready to suppress the revolutions in these countries. But these perfidious schemes were unveiled and frustrated. The setbacks suffered by the imperialists provoked a dark wave of slander. Distorting the peace objectives of Soviet foreign policy, the White House arbitrarily interpreted the Soviet Union's friendly act of aiding its neighbour, Afghanistan, as a threat to US interests. So the mass media are carrying on hostile propaganda over this "problem" and whipping up war hysteria. Here is what a Soviet correspondent said in his dispatch from New York:

"I switch on the TV set. On the ABC channel a Sovietologist, flapping his hands over a map, raves hysterically: 'The Russians are coming! They can reach the Persian Gulf within three hours, then

occupy Saudi Arabia, Israel and Egypt. Then the turn of Western Europe will come, and then...'

"I leaf through the newspapers. *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times* and other newspapers are bristling with headings like: 'Another Cold War', 'How to Punish the Russians', 'Momentous Change in the Administration's Foreign Policy', 'The Funeral of SALT-II', 'Washington Again Urges NATO Allies and Japan to Increase Military Spending', 'The Best Way to Play the Chinese Card', and so on.

"This is no accident: the White House approved a programme for annually raising US military spending by five per cent, and by the mid-1980s the Pentagon's budget will exceed 200,000 million dollars..."

Across the Atlantic, in Europe, the US NATO allies are keeping pace with their bigger partner. Here, too, the "free" West German press serves the military-industrial complex rather than the interests of the peace forces. Writers on international affairs from the GDR have exposed the nature and contents of printed matter put out in West Germany. According to them, the Springer concern is undoubtedly the spearhead of forces which shamelessly spread slander about the "Soviet threat" in order to whip up the arms race and torpedo detente. Axel Springer sells the cold war attractively packaged in every possible way; who knows, if it depended on him alone, he might have long been peddling "hot" wars as well.

The Springer press is going out of its way to scare the man in the street in West Germany and other NATO countries with "Russian tank columns and armoured lightning attacks". "Moscow's tanks will

reach the Rhine in two days" is a typical statement in a Springer newspaper or magazine.

The lies of imperialist propaganda were forcefully exposed by the Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko in his speech of February 19, 1980: "Those who stoop to such ploys know that they are crude and clumsy allegations obviously intended to camouflage their own plans aimed at tightening their grip more on the resources of the oil-rich countries."¹

Since the earliest days of its existence, the Soviet state has never encroached on the oil or any other resources of other countries and nations. As for the US, its record is very different, and this is well known to the Arabs, Iranians and people in many other countries, including those in Latin America.

US policy shows that the White House sometimes finds it hard to tell the difference between what belongs to the US and what to other nations. Moreover, this attitude is becoming common, with the Americans regarding Iranian oil fields as their vegetable patch, and discussing Arab oil reserves as if they were on the outskirts of the US.

But what right does the US have to the oil reserves and raw materials belonging to other peoples? What right does it have to threaten other countries and actually use force against them in order to gain control of their wealth?

Those who threaten the use of force, use it and blackmail other countries actually deprive these countries of independence in politics and economics, and thus violate the rights and freedoms of nations. There was a time when the imperialists could do this easily, but today such policies and actions are out

of fashion, whatever threats may accompany them and whatever rhetoric is used to camouflage them.

The "political nostalgia" of the reactionary press is explained by the fact that certain forces in the US were unable to appreciate the social and political changes taking place in the world realistically, and could not understand their objective nature.

The world is really seething today. Dictatorial pro-imperialist regimes are collapsing, and the opposition to neocolonialist policies is growing. More and more countries, only recently dependent on the capitalist world, are opting for socialist orientation. This is the objective course of history. Mankind is advancing towards political and economic freedom and towards national and social equality. There are quite a few countries as yet in which human rights and freedoms are being violated. This situation is found wherever there are forces in power respecting only one right, the right of private property, and upholding, by all the inhuman means available to them, only one freedom, the freedom to exploit other people. It is these forces that are responsible for the fact that today 700 million people in the world are starving, 1,500 million—over one-third of the world's population—are denied health care, and hundreds of millions have no jobs and live in misery.

It is only in the society of existing socialism that all these miseries and suffering have been abolished forever. This is why Soviet newspapers and magazines, as distinct from the capitalist press, never incite hatred for any nation. The Soviet press, radio and television are not controlled by private proprietors, who put profit above everything else. The Soviet press is concerned first and foremost with expos-

¹ *Pravda*, February 19, 1980.

ing the aggressive schemes of the imperialists, upholding the people's right to national independence, and promoting internationalism and solidarity with working people and countries struggling for their freedom. All the Soviet mass media, regardless of their specific features and the audiences to which they are addressed, express the interests of the people, depict their successes, raise and help resolve the problems facing the country, and truthfully cover major events both in the USSR and abroad.

The Democratic Nature of the Soviet Mass Media

The principle of the Soviet press is to conduct a dialogue on a basis of mutual respect, without any attempt to impose our own political system and way of life on the opponent. And thus we tell our opponents—you think your system is good, and we think the same about ours. Well, let's see who is right in practice. Let people read books and journals, see films, and exchange information. Let them draw parallels. We have nothing to hide from the Western reader and talk freely about our shortcomings, mistakes, and outstanding problems.

Newspapers, like all the other mass media in the Soviet Union, are singularly democratic. The Soviet press facilitates the growth of a socialist economy and fosters the best qualities in man, such as firm ideological principles, the spirit of collectivism, responsibility for the affairs of society and for his personal actions. Newspapers and journals, radio and TV programmes are not made by professional journalists

alone. It can be said that the entire people contribute to them. All Soviet newspapers, in virtually every issue, publish articles by workers, collective farmers, scientists, doctors, teachers and athletes. These articles share experience, raise problems and contain criticism, a practice which is promoted by the editors. Soviet newspapers traditionally keep in touch with the masses and maintain direct contact with work collectives. For instance, *Pravda*, *Izvestia*, *Trud*, *Komsomolskaya pravda* and other centrally-based newspapers, as well as republican, regional and city ones, tell their readers at the end of every year how many letters they have received and how many published. It is even more important that they report, on a day-to-day basis, how the questions raised in letters from readers are being resolved. The editors urge working people to offer new subjects for discussion, to draw attention to the pressing problems of economic and cultural progress, and to criticise shortcomings.

There are other examples which demonstrate the way in which the Soviet press works. The editors of *Sotsialisticheskaya industria* sponsored a "Questions and Answers" session with the workers of the Kirovabad carpet and rug factory in Azerbaijan. The session was attended by city administrators and representatives of the city party organisation. All sorts of questions were asked about the work at the factory and the living conditions of the people. Here are several extracts from the report published in the newspaper:

S. Akhmedova, a spinner: "We have excellent equipment and skilled personnel at the factory, and could produce far more output with the State

Quality Mark. However, we do not get raw materials of the grade we need, and sometimes we stand idle because of the lack of raw materials. What can we do about this?"

F. Abdullayev, the factory manager: "This problem is very acute. Equipment stands idle because of the lack of raw materials. Our suppliers are to blame, and we would like to hear what the Ministry has to say about it."

K. Asadov, an adjuster: "Consumer goods and food factories constitute the bulk of industry in our city. But our children, about to leave school, would like to work in other industries. They take an interest in electronics, chemistry and machine-building. What should they do?"

G. Gasanov, Secretary of the City Party Committee: "Indeed, consumer goods, food and local industry factories account for 80 per cent of the gross product of our city. This is the economic structure of our industry today. Measures are planned to change it and to develop factories in industries that are fundamental to technical progress, including electrical engineering and machine-building. So today's school-leavers can count on being able to choose from a broad range of trades and will be able to find jobs to their liking."

G. Mamedov, a freight-handler: "What is being done at the factory to raise labour productivity and ease working conditions?"

N. Mamedov, chief engineer: "The main thing in the factory's engineering policy is the installation of new, more productive equipment and the mechanisation of labour-consuming processes. Recently we have modernised the dye-mixing workshop, and dyes

are no longer mixed by hand. The delivery of rugs and carpets from the finishing workshop to the warehouse has also been mechanised. Two mechanised dispensers have been installed at the woven fabric workshop and raw materials are stacked by machines at the raw materials shop. More than 50 jigs and fixtures have been manufactured and installed to process the main units and parts of technological equipment on lathes and drilling and milling machines. The level of mechanisation at the factory constitutes over 81 per cent."

G. Mamedov: "Do you think this is enough? We freight-handlers do not find our job easier because of this 81 per cent..."

N. Mamedov: "No, I don't think so. You are quite right, there are still 'bottlenecks' at our factory. As far as I know your job is to carry raw materials from the railway siding to the storehouse. This operation will be mechanised this year."

G. Gasanov, Secretary of the City Party Committee: "Comrades, we have here a number of questions about public transport, services, city improvements, the water supply to housing estates, the improvement of housing conditions, and so on. We can't answer them all right away, because we have to analyse the situation in specific fields. So let us agree on the following: some time later, when we have studied these problems in depth, we will visit you once again. None of your questions will be left unanswered. Any objections?"

Voices from the audience: "No objection... Only don't dawdle!"

G. Gasanov: "We'll do this as soon as possible."

As you see, people in different positions and doing

different jobs feel equal when it comes to the common cause. Government officials lend an attentive ear to the proposals and demands of the working people because they have one and the same objective, namely, to care together about expanding production and raising living standards.

This is only one feature showing the democratic nature of our press. Newspapers show how leaders do their duty to the people and how rank-and-file Soviet working people exercise the rights and freedoms granted to them by the Constitution.

Another important feature of Soviet newspapers is their close contact with the people. They serve the society of free and equal people. Otherwise our press would not enjoy as much popularity as it does, and our newspapers and magazines would not come out in millions of copies. The Soviet people are pleased with the present but they also look to the future, and the future depends on scientific advances being used.

Science has reached a high level of development in the USSR. At the same time, the growing rate of scientific and technical progress and the advances made in understanding the world's secrets mean that natural sciences and engineering are faced with ever more tasks. How should these be approached? Engineers, technicians and workers work with scientists in tackling these tasks, one of the most important of which is scientific instrument-building. The Academician A. Alexandrov explained the importance of this industry in *Komsomolskaya pravda*, one of the most popular Soviet newspapers. The task is to introduce automation and control technology within a short time. This is an entirely new problem. Proc-

esses compressed into billionths of a second have to be observed and recorded. Today scientific instrument-building meets the needs not only of experimental production, but also of large-scale industry and technology and merits the attention of personnel at all levels, from shop-floor workers to ministers.

A turner from the Dmitrov excavator plant in the Moscow Region discusses how allied production units observe plan discipline in the newspaper *Sotsialisticheskaya industria*. Specialisation of production is being carried out on a large scale, and associations and industries linked by a single technological cycle are being developed in the country. Certain shortcomings have transpired at the organisation stage and this worker criticises those who have not yet learned to keep pace of production. Using his experience, he makes proposals for ministries and production managers.

The press concentrates attention on the problems in the country's economic growth, and this is quite natural because a rise in living standards depends on it. But the interests of Soviet people are not limited to industry and agriculture: problems of culture, the cultural and intellectual interests of man, also merit attention. The newspaper *Pravda* comprehensively analysed the problem in an article entitled "Learn While Teaching". The Soviet way of life is characterised by a growth in cultural and educational standards and by the development of collectivism, friendliness and mutual assistance. Workers in Byelorussia decided that it was necessary to establish universities of moral education at all enterprises. The Institute of Philosophy and Law of the Academy of Sciences, the Ministry of Public Education and the

State Planning Committee have taken part in this initiative. They are publishing teaching aids and providing teaching personnel with them, while managers of enterprises ensure that there are proper conditions for classes.

The democratic nature of the Soviet mass media is also expressed in the fact that people use them to share their experience. A critical attitude to what has been achieved also reflects the democratic nature of the Soviet press. V. Malyshev, the director of the Beloyarsk Atomic Power Station, explained in an *Izvestia* article who was to blame for delays in commissioning the world's biggest fast-neutron reactor. He levelled sharp criticism at a number of organisations and officials. Ministers and heads of enterprises responded to the criticism, took proper measures and speeded up the supplies of the necessary equipment.

Intolerance of shortcomings is displayed not only in production, where the economic might of the country is created, but also in the non-production sphere. Big problems are often caused by trifling matters. A sloppy worker, say, who carries out repairs in flats, an irresponsible official on duty at a bus depot and a rude shop assistant may ruffle the nerves of hundreds of people. Sometimes this causes a sort of chain reaction of sloppiness, indifference and disorganisation. Every newspaper criticises such shortcomings in articles, humorous and satirical stories, and cartoons. Criticism has a great impact on society. Criticism in the press is listened and responded to, and helps develop the economy and educate the people.

No Soviet citizen would object to the bourgeois

press reprinting any article criticising shortcomings in industry or any piece of satire poking fun at a hapless government official or lackadaisical factory manager. But this should be done honestly, without falsifying the facts.

But the bourgeois press, citing Soviet newspapers and magazines, frequently distorts the facts beyond recognition. Soviet newspapers report on individual, isolated facts so as to help uproot bribery, toadying, bureaucratism, embezzlement and other phenomena that are alien to socialism. Those who read such articles concerning shortcomings in the economic and cultural life as they are published can easily realise that such publications testify to the strength of the Soviet socialist state and to its humanism. Shortcomings are mercilessly criticised so as to get rid of them and to accelerate progress to communism.

Two Meanings and Two Interpretations of Freedom

The Soviet Union is frequently accused in the West of making work an obligation for everyone. We would like to quote the following words by Marx for the benefit of Western critics: "Truly free labour . . . is a very serious thing."¹ It is perhaps the most serious thing one can imagine. For the Soviet citizen it is his right, the principal right guaranteed to him

¹ Karl Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie. Rohentwurf (1857-58)*, Berlin, 1953, p. 505.

by the Soviet Constitution. Since the capitalist mode of production does not guarantee full employment, we are not going to meet, among the proponents of capitalism, anyone who would consistently uphold the right to work and the interests of the working people. To be "free" from work is not at all the same as being free.

In this context we would like to consider the question of trade unions.

For the Soviet people work is a necessity, a joy and pride. They regard work as a means of satisfying their needs and ensuring their physical, intellectual and cultural development. These are protected both by the state and by the Soviet trade unions, which have a membership of almost 99 per cent of the country's workforce. Altogether 740,000 trade union organisations are active in the country; by the beginning of 1980 they united over 127 million workers and employees on a voluntary basis.

According to Article 51 of the Soviet Constitution, trade unions, like any other public organisation in the USSR, can be established without hindrance. The establishment of public organisations promotes a growth in political activity and the initiative of the working people and makes it possible to meet their diverse interests.

There is no social basis in the USSR for the formation of unions of people who are not engaged in socially-useful work but parasitise on society. The life of Soviet society is organised according to rational laws. If associations of persons deliberately abstaining from socially-useful work were of any use to society and the loafers themselves, we think that such associations would have appeared. But people

do not see any point in such nonsense. A society of working people has no use for loafers and does not tolerate their pretensions.

But why do we all come out against loafers, even though there are only a handful of them? Why do we have to expend our energies on them? Let us see what a capitalist would do with a bad worker. If any worker fails to show up on time at a factory, or office or does not cope with his job, he will obviously be dismissed without delay. No one will try to persuade and reform him, "make a man of him", hundreds are waiting to take his place. Will a proprietor train an unskilled worker? Or have an ailing one treated by doctors at his own expense? Never!

In socialist society the situation is quite different. We are trying first and foremost to help man. Everything in this country belongs to society and at the same time to the individual. If a worker has done a bad job on a production line, he has thereby affected the interests of his work collective and impinged on its honour. Should he be dismissed right away? By no means. There are unwritten laws at work in Soviet society, as well as the norms of socialist morality, which include mutual assistance and help. Anyone who has made a mistake will be given a helping hand; he will hear friendly advice and criticism.

But if this man does not adapt his life to that of the work collective and rejects the sincere concern and aid of his fellow-workers, he will of course be dismissed. The work collective expresses its will—it does not allow anyone to interfere with the work of the collective.

But even in this case the errant individual enjoys all the benefits of society: he lives in a flat which has been built at the expense of public funds and has cost the state a lot of money. If he falls ill, he does not have to pay anything to visit the doctor who gets his salary from the state. If he is more seriously ill, he can go to hospital entirely free of charge.

It should be pointed out that these are quite able-bodied people. They are active and well-versed in world affairs. They know the addresses of the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation. They write complaints to these bodies, blaming their fellow-workers, local organisations and Soviet power in general for preventing them from leading a life of dissipation. They would like to set up an "alliance" that would protect "their interests" and preach "the freedom to do nothing". In the West there are people and organisations supporting these out-and-out dregs of society and trying to create the illusion that the Soviet Union violates human rights and freedoms. It is easy to guess who supports and sympathises with these elements. These are hostile forces, people who find it beneficial to fan hatred among nations, frustrate peace and thwart detente and mutually beneficial cooperation.

Whatever the proponents of such "rights and freedoms" may say and however hard they may try to conceal their true objectives, their schemes have been defeated and will continue to be so. Soviet people enjoy comprehensive freedom and have a duty to promote social progress, and create material wealth, which they can use as funds and resources pile up.

Soviet people do not take after King Diomedes of

Thracia, whose tragedy was described by the classic German author, Christoph Martin Wieland, in *Die Abderiten*. A fancier of horses, Diomedes bred so many of them that they eventually devoured the inhabitants of his country and himself as well.¹ Naturally, the passion-ridden King of Thracia was not a dialectician and did not know the laws that govern the development of society. But the Soviet people are not going to give free rein to loafers; for if they did the loafers might multiply and, like Diomedes's horses, devour the fruits of others' labour.

Fortunately, Soviet people are better versed in the meaning of life and its laws. If a man deliberately ignores the standards of social behaviour, society applies coercive measures against him, thus protecting itself against the influence of hostile elements.

Soviet people participate in different public organisations. They are workers who unite, above all, on the basis of their occupational interests and the interests of their factories, collective and state farms, construction projects and educational or research institutions. Their historical ideas and lofty humanistic objectives are realised in work collectives. This is what we mean by the socialist way of life.

The Soviet country has won victories which are the pride of the Soviet people, but at the same time there are problems in the country which have yet to be resolved. These problems are often discussed by the Soviet mass media.

The capitalist world, a world of violence and injustice, calls itself "free". The socialist world, where

¹ Christoph Martin Wieland, *Die Abderiten*, Berlin, 1952.

power is held by the working people and where there is no room for political and social injustice, is called "totalitarian" by our adversaries.

The Canadian journalists Charlotte and Dyson Carter are quite right in saying: "In our opinion, no freedom-in-general, however noble and desirable it may sound in speeches and in laws, has much significance today, unless the life of the people can transform it into Freedom they can experience personally."¹

The freedom accorded to Soviet people is not an abstract notion, but an actual guarantee of extensive rights. It means freedom of action, while action presupposes a knowledge of the historical conditions, circumstances and laws which are being used in the interests of Soviet society and its progress.

Freedom—Who for and Why?

The ideas of freedom and equality have been popular throughout the world for many centuries, and have been expounded by thinkers of different periods. History shows that they were produced by a society divided into classes. Those who governed had the freedom to enslave others, so they extolled freedom in every way, seeing it, naturally, as freedom for their own class. Those who were subjugated and had no rights strove to break the fetters of slavery and to gain freedom.

Social and historical epochs followed one after the other, and each of them produced its own interpretation of freedom. The true meaning of freedom was revealed by Marxism-Leninism: "Freedom is the appreciation of necessity."¹ When man appreciates necessity, he finds the way to freedom. Lenin explained that there was no "freedom in general" and no "democracy in general". Freedom—for which class? Democracy—who for? For which class? While bourgeois freedom and democracy are nothing but a haven for the rich and a deceptive trap for the exploited, socialist democracy and freedom mean democracy for the whole people, equality for all working people and freedom for all citizens of the country.² Freedom is necessary for the progress of mankind, and this is what the Soviet system is also interested in. Every political freedom is guaran-

¹ Charlotte and Dyson Carter, *Future of Freedom*, Gravenhurst-Ontario, 1963, p. 2.

¹ Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1975, p. 136.
² See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 240.

ted to the Soviet citizens in keeping with the working people's interests and in order to promote the people's initiative and political activity. For us freedom and socialist democracy are freedom for the whole people building a communist society rather than freedom for our adversaries to work against the socialist state. Genuine freedom, therefore, is achieved when rights and freedoms are granted to the whole of society, when there are no antagonistic classes and when the exploitation of man by man is abolished.

Women's Boots and Politics

It has been observed that fashions recur along a spiral, that is, at a qualitatively new level related to contemporary civilisation. The more rational and aesthetically valuable elements are borrowed from old fashions, while those features which no longer satisfy man and cause him inconvenience are discarded.

Women's boots, which are every now and then a rage among the beauties of Paris and Moscow, were invented not in the 1970s, but several centuries ago in Russia. Of course, today they look better, more elegant and are even more democratic in the sense that they have become accessible to millions. Nor did platform shoes, both for men and women, appear just the other day. It is most probable that they were borrowed from the ancient Japanese, and have been adapted to today's requirements by contemporary shoemakers.

But while the striving of fashion designers to bring

back to the consumer the best examples of clothes and footwear from all ages should be encouraged in every way, this cannot be said about politics. Who can seriously talk today about mankind's backsiding to primitive, slave-owning or feudal society. The West shies away when it comes to talking about capitalism, which still exists over much of the world's area, mentioning it far less often and less overtly than we do socialism. Western ideologists avoid the words "capitalism", "bourgeoisie" and "exploitation" and try to substitute vaguer notions for them; they describe the capitalist state as "democratic", "free" and "supraclass", and call capitalist society "industrial", "postindustrial", "consumer", "welfare", or a society of "unprecedented abundance". All this is being done because the words "bourgeoisie" and "capitalism" have become too unpopular with masses. Nowadays it is no longer possible to conceal the fact that people are interested in the rights and freedoms granted by the socialist countries to their citizens. This is why certain Western writers and politicians try more and more to pass themselves off as socialists and democrats, and publicly "care" for "improving" socialism in the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community. The word "socialism" has become trendy.

Western theorists believe that "a free society" is the best possible model of democracy and that the future belongs to it. What they mean is the United States of America, West Germany, Britain and so on.

It is not our purpose to dwell here on the entire range of contemporary ideas about the future. The Soviet people believe that the future belongs to socialism, while Western ideologists reserve it for ca-

pitalism. They do not share socialist ideas, or, to be more precise, they do not want to recognise them, because socialism is a new stage in social development which is not based on private property. Socialism, which is younger than capitalism by almost 300 years, has already demonstrated its superiority. Its achievements and popularity are due to the history-making activities of the masses. The adversaries of socialism, however, poison all human undertakings with the venom of doubt and try to implant in the masses the pessimistic view that it is futile to try and remake the world on new principles. They draw all sorts of false historical parallels and claim that, just as nothing came out of Christ's Sermon on the Mount and Luther's tenets, nothing will be achieved by the socialist economic system. The apologists of capitalism are seeking to dampen the inspiration of the working people and their striving for socialist ideals with demagogic and slander.

All this is only intended to uphold the capitalist system and to besmirch socialism. The overall purpose of these efforts is to neutralise the revolutionary forces in social progress and to stir up doubts in those who have already embarked on the correct road towards reforming the world.

Western ideologists persist with their "operations" against the socialist world and try to weaken the socialist community by thwarting the cohesion of its members in every way. All sorts of ploys are used to erode the socialist system. The nature of these anti-Soviet activities has been aptly exposed by Leonid Brezhnev: "Our opponents would like to find any forces whatsoever within our countries opposed to socialism. Since there are no such forces, because

there are neither oppressed, exploited classes nor oppressed, exploited nationalities in socialist society, they invent a surrogate and use false propaganda to create a semblance of 'internal opposition' in socialist countries. It is for this reason that a hue and cry has been raised over the so-called 'dissidents' and a world-wide ballyhoo about 'the violation of human rights' in socialist countries."¹

The false bait of Western propaganda is swallowed by certain individuals in socialist society as well. There are people who cannot form a correct idea of the social processes in today's world, while others just do not accept social progress. No well-intentioned criticism or constructive proposals can be expected from them: they maliciously gloat over shortcomings and take pleasure in fault-finding. There are so few of the latter that they could well be disregarded. However, it is these individuals breathing malice, rather than the masses working miracles, who attract the attention of the reactionary forces in the West.

What can be said on this score? It is not forbidden in the Soviet Union to "think differently" from the majority, nor to be critical of various aspects of social life. The Soviet authorities regard people who voice justified criticism in a desire to improve the situation as conscientious citizens, and are grateful to them. Those who are mistaken in their criticism are regarded as people who do not see the light.

It is a very different matter when a handful of people divorce themselves from Soviet society, viru-

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Soviet Trade Unions Under Developed Socialism*, Moscow, 1978, pp. 464-65 (in Russian).

lently oppose the new system, engage in anti-Soviet activities, violate laws and, having no support within the country, seek aid from imperialist subversive centres, including propaganda and intelligence services. The Soviet laws regard such people as active adversaries of socialism and treat them as turncoats, the agents and henchmen of imperialism.

These New-Fangled Dissidents

Who are these people? They call themselves by a somewhat old-fashioned word, dissidents (from the Latin *dissideo*, I disagree, I differ) which in feudal Europe denoted people who disagreed with the established church.

But it is not on religion that these new-fangled dissidents have concentrated. They live in the Soviet Union, not in the West, and live there today, not in the medieval period. They attack the country where they were born, have grown up, been educated and got jobs, vociferously advertising themselves as "champions" of freedom. As for the West, it has jumped at an opportunity to exploit these dissidents as "opposition" within the Soviet Union.

Speaking about opposition, we usually mean a certain political or social force objectively expressing the interests of a class, social stratum or group. Opposition can be weak or strong, but it is always backed up, either by the progressive forces of society or, conversely, by reactionaries.

During World War II, when the nazi authorities succeeded in deceiving or intimidating millions of Germans by demagogic, petty sops and large-scale

terror, a resistance movement, i.e. well-organised underground forces of opposition, was operating in the very lair of the nazis. They were opening the eyes of their fellow-countrymen, explaining to them who were the real enemies of Germany and who were its friends. As a result, the number of Germans unwilling to serve in the armed forces began to grow. This fact is corroborated by the Wehrmacht's statistics (obviously understated): in the war-time period about 27,000 death sentences were passed in the ground forces and some 110,000 servicemen were sentenced to hard labour. Opposition was at work. Although not numerous, it fought for lofty ideas and acted in the interests of the German people, in the interests of humanity, peace and the happiness of all nations. The fascist Germany was defeated and the conditions were created for the opposition to come to power. Opposition movements differ: the important thing is what class backs the opposition and what its goals are.

But let us return to the Soviet dissidents. Who are they, who do they stand up for and why, how many of them are there? No one in the USSR has kept tabs on them and no one is going to. Moreover, they themselves do not know how many of them there are or who consider themselves to be "fighters".

Soviet people have a dual attitude to dissidents: some do not take them seriously, while others are indignant over the fact that these individuals provide fodder for the capitalist press. But both the former and the latter agree that the dissidents have no support among the masses. Indeed, who in the Soviet Union is going to protest against the fact that there is no unemployment or inflation, that

health care or education are free, and that there is no national discord or persecution of the progressives for their political convictions. Who is going to reject the social benefits extended to the Soviet people? But the dissidents do so, merely to curry favour with the adversaries of socialism, and to be rewarded for the supply of lies they provide about the life of the Soviet people. A good deal of space in newspapers and much air-time is given over to quite irresponsible statements. In this way a handful of dissidents looks to poorly informed people like a sizeable opposition.

There are two worlds on the Earth, socialism and capitalism, and two ways of life. Which ideal is the more attractive? Which should be preferred? Which one should one fight for with arguments, logic and every ounce of one's strength? In this battle, a battle of ideologies, there is no need to throw oneself under an enemy tank with a grenade in hand or to cover the muzzle of a machine-gun in an enemy pill-box with one's body. But it is a life-and-death battle all the same. Which ideology does the future belong to? Which way will mankind choose?

The history of our century shows that foresight alone is not enough to ensure the implementation of the great goals of mankind: a revolution in the mode of production is needed, and a transition from a spontaneous process of social development to one that is consciously regulated. The socialist revolution is such a transition, and it is from this moment that people begin consciously to make history, that the social causes brought into action by the people begin increasingly to have the consequences desired of them.

Bourgeois ideology is trying to counter the Marxist approach to social progress with a capitalist mode of progress based on private property. But the progress they extoll in no way benefits the masses. The fruits of this progress are reaped by a handful of capitalists who enjoy both freedom and profits, rights and luxury; all because they suppress the freedom of the masses and reduce them to misery.

Who's Who

So a battle of ideas, theories and different life-styles is going on, and there are enemies and traitors on the front of ideological struggle, just as on the battle-front.

The destinies of mankind and of civilisation depend on the outcome of this battle, a battle which has no parallel in human history. Following the 1917 October Socialist Revolution, which gave the working people political rights and freedoms, conditions began to be provided for extending civil rights and personal freedoms. They are based on the economic potential of the socialist state, created by the efforts of all the working people. But what about those who kept aloof of the common effort to extend freedom or those who went over to the enemy, while the mass of the people were engaged in a constructive effort? There were such individuals, and we should not feel sorry for them.

But do Western benefactors know who they are really taking under their wing? They do, of course, and deliberately conceal the truth in order to use traitors to the Soviet homeland to incite animosity among nations. But there are those who would like

to know the truth, and it is for them that this book has been written.

Indeed, who is Kovalyov? He is a sworn enemy of socialism, an enemy not only by conviction. While living in the Soviet Union, he has for many years supplied anti-Soviet propaganda centres abroad with slanderous writings. By falsifying the facts and cooking up falsities, he has slandered the Soviet people, who defied all difficulties to develop a new economy and culture, who raised the country from hunger and poverty to the heights of modern civilisation. Kovalyov's true colours are revealed in the "protagonists" of his writings, one, in particular, of whom, is Dudenas, a henchman of the nazi barbarians. Betraying his country when Lithuania was occupied by the nazis, Dudenas murdered Soviet patriots putting up resistance to the fascists. Another character described by Kovalyov is Ostrovsky, the "president" of the Byelorussian Central Rada during the temporary occupation of Soviet Byelorussia by the nazi forces. The "government" formed by him consisted of traitors and collaborated with the nazis.

The Western press does not tire of passing Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov off as victims of the "Soviet regime". But who comes to the defence of Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov? Workers and peasants? By no means. Teachers, doctors and engineers? Far from it. Today even certain realistically-minded people in the capitalist world think twice before coming out in defence of these individuals. Solzhenitsyn's malicious ravings are easy to understand: the heir to a large commercial business can hardly be happy with the Soviet system. A society built on socialist prin-

ciples rejects private enterprise which breeds the exploitation of man by man and political and social inequality. Solzhenitsyn, of course, looks after his own interests and, opposed to a state built on such principles, finds refuge in anti-Sovietism. He has an affinity with the Vlasovites, traitors to the socialist country who in the difficult years of the Great Patriotic War went over to the enemy camp and turned their arms against the Soviet people. Solzhenitsyn glorifies the Vlasovites and tries to present their treachery as heroism. His concoctions cannot affect the Soviet people's way of thinking or their activities in any way. But our class adversaries are happy to have him on their side.

The Spanish journalist Juan Benet aptly observed that with the help of the European and US media, obsessed with masochism, Solzhenitsyn has become a model intellectual who, having written four trite, outdated and literally decadent novels, has allegedly acquired the right to attack peoples and governments and discuss state affairs with more authority than those who wield wrenches or operate milling machines to earn their living.

The Western press also presents the Academician Sakharov as a champion of human rights and freedoms. This "scientist" is no longer the scientist he was once. Having wasted his talents on spreading intrigue, he happily abandoned nuclear physics and became a "writer" and "statesman". His writings are an atrocious slander of socialism. He dares to advise—sometimes rather aggressively—trade unions, businessmen, left-wing intellectuals and governments. Sakharov's beliefs leave no doubt: he advocates the creation of a new alliance of imperialist forces so

as to bring political and military pressure to bear on the Soviet Union and prevent nations from fighting for their independence. Of course, it is not just the Soviet people who are puzzled that Sakharov was awarded the Nobel Prize. The Nobel Prize is awarded for scientific discoveries, for activities promoting peace and progress and for new ideas. The "ideas" that the Nobel Committee decided to reward with its prize can easily be found in Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, or in any other nazi book... It is people like Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov that the apologists of capitalism present as champions of human rights and freedoms.

But can they really pass judgement on human rights in socialist society?

We think that the reader, having put together the obvious facts, will decide who's who, i.e., who betrays the ideas and goals of socialism and who generously rewards traitors.

Krasin: "We Only Spoke for Ourselves"

Looking at the life stories and mentality of the dissidents one realises that they are egocentric: their "ego" is the centre of the universe for them, and everything revolves around it. They try to pass their own views off as those of society.

Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn, for instance, support Senator Jackson who opposes international detente, while Jackson, in his turn, advertises Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn so as to create a semblance of discord in Soviet society. Sakharov's principal service to the West, for which he is praised no end and has been

awarded the Nobel Prize, is the fact that he has gone over to the camp of the enemies of socialism. Now that the capitalist world is going through a severe, all-embracing crisis, with disillusionment and dissatisfaction growing, people like Sakharov are a godsend for the apologists of the capitalist system. A traitor to the cause of socialism naturally becomes an ally of world imperialism.

That was what happened to Sakharov. Owing to his activities, he has long lost the moral qualities of a Soviet man and is grossly violating the moral and legal norms observed by Soviet citizens. The Soviet people are indignant about his conduct and demand that their government take legal measures against Sakharov. The Soviet authorities have for years on end tolerated Sakharov and have been doing whatever they could to make him go back to his scientific activities and honest work for the sake of the great ideals to which all Soviet people devote themselves. Sakharov has, however, turned down the most noble of proposals. Expressing the will of the people, the Soviet government decided to strip Sakharov of his honorary titles and decorations. The punishment which he deserved in law was not applied to him. It was suggested that he leave Moscow and take up residence in the city of Gorky.

Some of the dissidents have come to see the light. They admit of their own accord that their "ideas" have no social and political basis in the Soviet Union and that their activities are inspired by foreign anti-Soviet centres. The dissident Krasin, sentenced for his subversive activities, said at a press conference at the Moscow Journalists' Club, attended by over 200 foreign and Soviet correspondents: "We only

spoke for ourselves, a small group divorced from the Soviet public and opposed to its interests. Our activities were immeasurably exaggerated by Western reactionary propaganda, which used us for its own ends. By sending anti-Soviet documents abroad, we were misleading the world public by giving it a distorted idea of the Soviet Union and the life of the Soviet people."

The French journalist J. Naux (*L'Equip*) asked the dissident Yakir if it was true that during court hearings Yakir had said that Western propaganda assertions that Soviet dissidents were committed to mental institutions were unfounded. "Yes," Yakir said. "I myself concocted such letters without getting to the heart of the matter. That was downright slander."

As you see, what we have here is not dissent, but criminal activity. In putting dissidents on trial, Soviet legal bodies acted in full conformity with the international covenants on human rights adopted by the United Nations. Incidentally, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights stipulates that every country that is a member of the UN adopts laws and takes other internal measures to consolidate the basic rights and freedoms of the individual in law. In case the rights of any individual are violated, it is the state rather than the international community that is to provide the means for his legal defence. "Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law," reads Article 8 of the Declaration. It should be recalled here that the Universal Declaration is in this respect reiterating a principle writ-

ten into the UN Charter, according to which the guarantee and defence of human rights and fundamental freedoms are the internal affair of a state.

If Krasin, Yakir and other dissidents did not violate the laws of the state they live in, they would not have been punished by the courts. The Soviet courts are by no means interested in punishing people who are not guilty of anything. But those who have committed crimes get what they deserve.

Recreants will not find support for their ideas either among the Soviet people or from Soviet power, which expresses the will of the people. They will not find any support even if they are backed up by influential Western newspapers claiming that they have the right to express public opinion. To quote N. Sudarikov, the Soviet delegate at the Commission on Human Rights in Geneva in October-November, 1978:

"Who can we consider the spokesmen for world public opinion in this case? If we mean here the individual publications of certain Western newspapers, it is quite obvious that these newspapers cannot claim to represent public opinion even in their own countries. World public opinion on human rights is expressed best of all by the international documents on human rights and by the UN resolutions on relevant problems. The Soviet Union participates in all major international agreements on human rights and observes the relevant UN resolutions, which can hardly be said about even the strongest of Western countries."

Although there are still certain individuals in Soviet society who do not respect the socialist way of life nor share the ideas, morality and national tradi-

tions of the socialist nations, everything possible is being done to re-educate such people and prevent them from making mistakes. These purposes are served by work according to one's calling and training, and also by activities for the benefit of society. They are also furthered by universal education and by the system of social upbringing, which are based on nurturing communist ideals and humane principles in people's minds. Thus honest but deluded people eventually change their views and become socially active citizens.

But it is a different matter if dissidents translate their views into criminal action. If a dissident establishes contact with the intelligence service of a foreign country and embarks on ideological subversion, and if his practical activities are aimed at subverting the Soviet system, they are qualified as a crime rather than dissent. Whatever such people are called in the West—"martyrs" or "champions of freedom"—they are dealt with by the judiciary. Protecting the interests of the people and the goals of society, the courts prosecute political criminals. When all is said and done, every state has laws protecting the existing system of government.

Capitalism upholds the freedom of private enterprise. The laws of bourgeois society protect the rights and privileges of the ruling class, the rights of a minority which possesses the means of production and builds its well-being on the work of the bulk of the population. But people who do not have political power or anything else except their labour have to live. So ordinary people in capitalist society have to sell their labour, their talents and abilities, on the mean and sometimes denigrating terms laid down

by the capitalists. These incontrovertible facts of overt enslavement are presented by bourgeois ideologists as freedom. But who is this freedom for?

The world of socialism is made up of countries in which there are no antagonistic classes. Socialism is a society whose members are united by lofty humanistic interests. The socialised economy of this society is being developed to meet the needs of all the people and to benefit the whole society. This is why the socialist countries have adopted laws protecting the interests of the entire people. It is this fact that determines the extensive rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens.

It is only in extending the economic, political, social, cultural and intellectual freedoms, possessed by all members of society rather than by individuals, that the Communist Party and the socialist state see the genuine freedom of man, that is, the freedom to act in the interests and for the lofty goals of society and freedom from all prejudices and class antagonisms. This is what is meant by the Soviet way of life. The moral features of the freedom, born of socialism, that every Soviet man and woman enjoys, were formalised in the Fundamental Law of the state, the Soviet Constitution, and are a dependable guarantee of individual rights and freedoms.

This freedom is not an abstract notion, but a real guarantee of rights, a freedom of action. This action depends on the knowledge of the historical conditions, circumstances and natural laws used in the interests of socialist society and its overall progress.

Who Soviet Law Prosecutes and for What

It is not our purpose to convert those conducting the anti-Soviet campaign against the alleged violations of human rights and infringements of fundamental freedoms in the USSR. It is obvious, however, that they succeed in misleading the ordinary people in the West. So we would like to clarify the question of whom Soviet law punishes and why.

The socialist revolution and present-day peaceful life did not come to the Soviet people as a gift from God, but were won by them in a bitter struggle waged by many generations. The October Revolution was virtually bloodless, and were it not for the opposition of the overthrown capitalists, landowners, and tsarist generals, supported by imperialists from other countries, there would have been no intervention or Civil War. Those who no longer wish to be deluded by the old tales about "Bolshevik atrocities", described in the books and films made by the enemies of socialism, should know that even during the Civil War officers of the tsarist army were imprisoned not merely because they were officers, but because they took part in counter-revolutionary conspiracies and engineered rebellions against the people's power. Certain figures in the opposition parties were put on trial not because they belonged to these parties, but for organising terror, making an attempt on the life of Lenin, the leader of the proletariat, and assassinating leading workers in the party and Soviet government. Were the Soviet authorities within their rights in doing this? Certainly they were, and such actions

were necessary to protect the socialist revolution.

Alexander Sukharev, the first deputy minister of justice in the USSR, told a correspondent of the Soviet journal *New Times*:

"For many years now I have been directly involved in the administration of justice, but I have never seen or read and still do not know of the existence of a single Soviet law under which citizens could be prosecuted because of their political or religious views... Our code of laws contains a section dealing with crimes against the state, that is, crimes aimed at undermining or weakening the Soviet state and its social system... Do any of these crimes have any relation to politics? Unquestionably. A member of a punitive squad collaborating with the nazi invaders during the war was of course prompted by a desire to change the existing system and murdered primarily Soviet activists. (Such collaborators are liable to prosecution to this day under the laws of our country and in conformity with the principles of international law set forth in documents like the UN-endorsed Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity.) The courts pass judgement on this type of individual not because of his attitude towards the social system, but for murder and collaboration with the enemy. General Vlasov, for instance, was sentenced to death and hanged not because of the anti-Soviet entries in his diary, but for treason, for the monstrous atrocities he committed and for organising a gang of fascist accomplices who fought on the side of the enemy and killed Soviet people. Was his crime political in character? Undoubtedly.

"In this sense the actions of individuals now being prosecuted for their criminal activity, in particular for agitation and propaganda aimed at undermining the existing system, also have a political tinge. But these people are not penalised for being dissidents. They are prosecuted for definite actions against the state, and for voluntarily aiding subversion centres abroad."

Laws protecting the individual have been adopted throughout the world. A criminal attempting to rob or murder someone is punishable by law. But if a dissident speaking only for himself, as Krasin stated he did, aims his activities against the whole of society, what sympathy does he deserve? In fact, he is raising his fist against the law protecting the freedom and rights of millions! This dissident considers his activities against the law to be a manifestation of freedom, and the protests of millions against them a suppression of freedom. Western propaganda supports this viewpoint and the criminal activities of the dissidents rather than the view of the free people. Isn't this a paradox?!

The Unity of the Party and the People

The Soviet country has achieved the unity of the peoples inhabiting it in the most important area, the advance of society towards communism. The social relations which have evolved on the basis of the public ownership of the means of production constitute the foundation on which social production is growing and science and culture are advancing. The peo-

ple have a scientific and materialistic world outlook evolved from the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the ideas on which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union bases its activities. The banner of the Communist Party carries the words "freedom, equality and fraternity of the peoples" and its motto is "everything for the sake of man, for the benefit of man".

The peoples of the Soviet country linked their destinies with the Bolshevik Party, the Communist Party, long ago. They had a choice. It may be that no other country had as many political parties as Russia did on the eve of the October Revolution. Many of them were formed after Nicholas II, the Emperor of Russia, was dethroned on February 27, 1917. The collapse of the monarchy marked the beginning of the struggle for power.

The question was, what was the new power to be like.

The Bolsheviks declared in their programme that the power was to belong to the people. This was the strong voice of advanced sections of the working class, the poor peasantry and the Russian intelligentsia.

But there were nearly a dozen more political parties, each of them promoting its own slogans and objectives, and each of them striving to win the masses over to its side because only with the support of the majority of the population was it possible to take and retain power. The workers and peasants who strove to gain political freedom, win genuine civil rights and put an end to exploitation were not indifferent to the political developments. They followed the political struggle closely, took an active part

in it and supported the party whose programme met their goals and aspirations.

The political situation in Russia was complex at this time, with a host of parties putting forth all sorts of slogans.

Dual power evolved in Russia following the overthrow of the monarchy; power was shared by the Soviets, representing the working people, and the Provisional Government, representing the capitalists and landowners. The Provisional Government controlled all key posts. It brought all political, economic and military means into play to stay in power and suppress the Soviets. It made use of the various political parties sympathetic to it and tried to find support among the people. The main goal of the bourgeois Provisional Government and the parties which were ready to compromise with it was to prevent the Bolsheviks from gaining power and to abolish the Soviets. Representatives of the petty-bourgeois parties who had wormed their way into the Soviets alleged that the future belonged to the city dumas, zemstvos and parliamentary democracy and that the Soviets could not stand up to the least criticism as permanent institutions. The Menshevik Sukhanov formulated the slogan that "any power superceding autocracy must be bourgeois power". The political platform of the Constitutional Democrats was "the unification of the country against the Bolsheviks". Speaking at the congress of the Constitutional Democrats in March 1917, their leader, Milyukov, said: "The party of the Constitutional Democrats can consider itself to be a socialist party." He threatened: "Otherwise the coup will fail and the revolution will perish."

The Socialist-Revolutionary Party, which subsequently split up into two independent parties, also tried to feign adherence to socialist principles.

Some of the parties disguised themselves with revolutionary slogans to acquire influence among the people. Concealing their true goals, these parties published newspapers whose titles deceived ordinary people. The Constitutional Democrats published the newspaper *Utro Rossii* (Russia's Morning), the Mensheviks *Rabochaya gazeta* (The Workers' Paper), and the Socialist Revolutionaries *Dyelo naroda* (The People's Cause). These parties were artfully deceiving the masses, employing all sorts of manoeuvres to popularise their programmes. It should also be taken into account that the bourgeois parties were headed at that time by well-known leaders, such as Milyukov, Chernov, Tsereteli, Sukhanov, Martov and Avksentyev. They were veteran ideologists and politicians maintaining close links with the Provisional Government, which wielded a great deal of power at the time.

The Bolsheviks were also struggling for power but, as distinct from the other parties, they were fighting for the power of the people, for their complete political and social freedom.

Although reformists and conciliators feigned loyalty to the Bolshevik Party and although it became apparent that there were downright traitors in its ranks, the party of the working class, the Bolshevik Party, came out at that time as an independent political force with a definite programme, strategy and tactics. Its slogan was "All power to the Soviets!" It painstakingly explained its objectives and awakened political consciousness in the masses. It

was gradually winning workers, poor peasants, and intellectuals over to its side, and also carried out propaganda and organisation work in the army. It taught the masses to discern the true class loyalties of the parties that were active at the time and exposed the conciliatory policies of the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks and all those who tried to play on the interests of the working people and divert them from the true ideas of the socialist revolution.

Thus the Communist Party alone remained faithful to the goals of the working people. It formulated slogans and worked out a programme that met the interests of all the working classes and of the majority of the Russian people. This is why, when it was impossible to take power by peaceful means, through the transfer of power to the Bolshevik Soviets, the party came up with a different method, that of a revolutionary uprising. The working people believed the Bolshevik Party and its slogans, rallied around its revolutionary banner, and accomplished the socialist revolution. Their dream came true, and their hopes materialised. Their confidence in the Communist Party grew even stronger. Embodying the aspirations of the different classes of the working people, the Bolshevik Party became their recognised leader. It represents the unity of the objectives and actions of the party and all strata of the population. It unites workers, peasants, intellectuals, scientists and people in the arts and culture. Its policy embodies the interests of the entire people. The world had never seen anything like it. The policy of the Soviet Communist Party is aimed at the broadest possible development of democracy in Soviet society. The

Soviet political system includes the Soviets, the trade unions, the Young Communist League and other public organisations. Socialist democracy provides for the participation of the entire people in the administration of the state, production and the political affairs of the country. The opportunities for doing this are guaranteed under the Soviet Constitution.

Soviet people may voice their opinions and criticisms. Ways of more effective development are discussed not only at the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics, but also at meetings of local Soviets. This reflects the life of the country as a whole: achievements are commended and shortcomings criticised. Different opinions are voiced during the conclusion of collective agreements at factories. Some propose that an indoor swimming pool be built for the personnel of a factory, others that the money be used for the promotion of tourism. Discussions of what should be done to modernise workshops and to prevent production accidents are going on in managers' offices, at sittings of the permanent production conference, at trade union meetings and in the party committee where the factory manager reports on how the recommendations of his fellow-party members and the critical remarks made by trade union functionaries and rank-and-file workers are being put into effect.

The 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the November 1979 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee provide examples of the critical approach taken to reality and the realistic way the results achieved are evaluated. The party pointed out the obstacles hindering the rapid development of society and its economy and culture,

such as the poor use of technology, the irrational spending of resources and the inadequate level of leadership in certain areas. The party urged the working people to be more resolute in combating red-tape and conservatism among certain responsible officials and to bring to light all cases of lackadaisical attitude to work on the part of officials.

The party urges the people to develop criticism and self-criticism because the party and the working people have common interests and concerns. The party has nothing to hide from the people, just as the people have nothing to conceal from their political vanguard, the Communist Party. This is why the party urges the people to thoroughly and comprehensively analyse this or that problem facing the country. Naturally, one cannot do without original ideas and thoughts here. In short, we need people who "think differently".

It is precisely in this sense that the majority of the Soviet people understand the expression "to think differently": it denotes those who look for a short cut to a definite goal, who propose something new and daring to a common goal and meets the interests of the entire people. Such "differently thinking" people are respected and supported by all, including the government, the party and the trade union organisations.

Nikolai Zlobin, a Moscow building team leader, became famous because he thought differently from many of his fellows. Zlobin suggested a new method for organising team work and thus speeded up construction work, improved its quality and reduced its cost. In "thinking differently" he earned the respect of the entire people: he was elected deputy to

the USSR Supreme Soviet and awarded the State Prize of the USSR. Many workers have won State Prizes, among them Boris Tsalko, a turner from Leningrad. Just one of his appliances reduces the time for working the spherical surfaces of large turbines to less than half. And he has designed as many as twelve similar appliances. Boris Tsalko met his five-year production quota in December 1978, and exceeded the labour productivity target by over 50 per cent. There are literally millions of such "differently thinking" individuals in the country. They are at one with the people and the people support them. But they do not interest bourgeois propaganda. The capitalist press only takes an interest in those "differently thinking" individuals who hardly deserve this name because they merely parrot ideas peddled by bourgeois propaganda.

Thus there are two kinds of differently thinking people. Some are coming out against outdated traditions and notions in order to make life better for themselves and for others, whereas others are paying lip service to "freedom" and "democracy", while in reality they are trying to reverse social progress. When their activity oversteps the boundaries laid down in Soviet law and encroaches on the rights of the Soviet people to work, rest and leisure, education, health care and security in old age, and also on their right to live in peace with other nations, the Soviet working people cut short the provocative actions of these "dissidents" through their government bodies. This humanistic measure protects freedom for the people.

A Society of Social Optimism

It is only under socialism that the true meaning of human rights and freedoms comes into its own: it is ensured by a democracy of a new type, socialist democracy. "That socialist democracy proclaims social and economic as well as political rights, and that it not only proclaims but also securely guarantees these rights," as Leonid Brezhnev said, "is one of the things that fundamentally distinguishes it from bourgeois democracy."¹ Under developed socialism, with its high economic potential, this distinctive feature of socialist democracy makes itself particularly forcefully felt.

The meaning of the social and economic rights of the Soviet people becomes ever more substantial from one stage of the development of Soviet society to the next, and the actual guarantees for observing these rights are becoming increasingly firm. The Soviet Constitution guarantees the right to work, rest and leisure, education, housing, health protection and participation in running state affairs. It also guarantees full equality between men and women and the actual equality of nations and provides conditions for the big and small nations of the USSR to flourish and draw closer together. And as well it provides guarantees for the broadest political freedoms and for social equality and justice. All these rights and freedoms are guaranteed both in law and in practice. Soviet people do not worry about "a

rainy day", nor do they run any risk of being left jobless, homeless or deprived of health care or support in old age.

Soviet people have great prospects of a life of happiness and fulfilling creative activity. The humanism of the social system, which is being developed under the leadership of the Communist Party, consists in the fact that its paramount objective is peace. The unflagging concern of the Leninist Party and the Soviet state for the genuine interests of the peoples is manifested in their consistent efforts, to oppose the threat of world war and provide favourable international conditions for the triumph of the ideas of national freedom and social progress, democracy and socialism.

The viability of the Soviet economy is rooted in the very essence of the socialist economic system. It is precisely this fact that the opponents of socialism cannot admit.

When the Soviet people just set about creating the socialist economic system, the enemies of socialism were predicting its early collapse. Moreover, they were straining every effort to precipitate this collapse. But nothing came of their efforts. The socialist system gained firm ground and proved its superiority over capitalism.

There are critics of the Soviet economic system today as well. Nowadays, however, they feed mainly off our temporary difficulties and unresolved problems. Indeed, we do have difficulties and unresolved problems. They are explained not by the nature of our economic system, but first and foremost by the fact that we have not yet learned to fully use the enormous advantages provided by the socialist mode

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Soviet Trade Unions Under Developed Socialism*, Moscow, 1978, p. 555 (in Russian).

of production. We are openly discussing these problems and difficulties precisely in order to overcome them as soon as possible.

The world at large is witnessing the steady and dynamic progress of the Soviet Union. It is particularly evident when set against the economic upheavals and troubles besetting the capitalist countries. We have before us two modes of production, the socialist and the capitalist, and two very different results. The Soviet Union's industrial output grew by 70 per cent between 1970 and 1979, whereas that of the US and other developed capitalist countries only grew by 40 per cent. All told, in the past decade, the countries participating in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance were developing their industrial production 50 per cent faster than the Common Market countries.

There is still a good deal to be done, of course. We are marching forward and will continue our progress. But to do so, we will have to work even harder. This is why the party invariably directs the Soviet people towards achieving even higher results in the economic, social, scientific and technological spheres. All nations, large and small, inhabiting the Soviet Union are following the course laid down by the party.

Anti-Sovieters and dissidents blame Soviet people for accepting the policy and programme of the Communist Party. We Soviet people have the following to say on this score: we are glad that the Party of Lenin, the Communist Party, is leading the Soviet people. We have learned the lessons of history. Were it not for the Communist Party, there would be no freedom, no democracy, and none of

the forces that have enabled the Soviet state to make such a gigantic stride in social development.

Soviet people regard the Communist Party as their tested leader, through whose wise and consistent policy the Soviet Union has built a new society without parallel in human history. It is a society with a crisis-free and constantly growing economy, mature socialist relations, and genuine freedom. This society, with its truly materialist world outlook, is confident of its future and of its radiant communist prospects. It is a society of social optimism.

These epoch-making achievements of socialism cannot be written off any more than the law of gravity. The victories of the Soviet people are known to all. Developments forcefully show which of the two worlds will carry off the future.

That is why the ideas of the Communist Party and its decisions are taken to heart and followed by the Soviet people. They know that the Communist Party has always been at one with the working class and serves its interests, which explains why the working class and the whole of the working people are always with the party.

The Right to Peace, the Right to Life

We have given the reader an idea of the broad range of rights and freedoms accorded to the Soviet people and of their civic and moral duty to society. But why do people in the Soviet Union view life so optimistically, and why do they work so confidently? Why do they organise their lives along lines that fundamentally differ from those followed by other, non-socialist countries?

These questions could be answered in a simple way: there are two worlds and two social systems, socialism and capitalism, and therefore there are two modes of thinking and two ways of life. This would be a correct answer, but not a complete one. Thus we shall dwell in greater detail on these matters.

The Mentality of the Soviet People

Soviet laws, the rights of the Soviet people, their duties to society and their humanistic morality have deep roots. They are based on the ideas of the revolutionary transformation of the world. Socialism grew out of capitalism and through the struggle with capitalism. Socialist society did not emerge spontaneously.

Karl Marx said that philosophers had only interpreted the world in various ways, and concluded on the basis of his analysis of the historical process that the task was to change the world.

Why was it necessary to change it? Precisely because people were divided for centuries into anta-

gonistic classes. Some people worked and others appropriated the fruits of their labour. But this could not last forever. This phenomenon was accounted for by definite social conditions and antagonistic relations between classes, with some classes temporarily establishing the exploitation of man by man and forcibly suppressing the freedom of the majority. At the dawn of our age the Roman philosopher Epictetus, who himself had been a slave, said that only those who know are free. The French revolutionary Robespierre came to the following conclusion: "The secret of freedom lies in educating people, whereas the secret of tyranny is in keeping them ignorant."¹

Inequality and oppression are the most atrocious of crimes. This injustice, as Marx pointed out, should be abolished. Those who work should be the masters of their country and its wealth, and should have the use of all its advantages. The working people, who constitute the majority of the population, should be in power, and power should belong to the people. People began to be increasingly aware that everyone should have rights and freedoms. But how was this to be achieved? A dream is almost as important as an idea, and the masses gradually began to arrive at ways of realising their age-old dream. This process was brilliantly described by the Italian writer Gianni Rodari.

"A huge crowd was assembled at the roadside, waiting for something.

"'What are you waiting for?' a wise man asked.

¹ *Oeuvres Complètes de Robespierre. Tome V. Les journaux. (Lettres à ses commettants)*, Paris, 1961, p. 75.

"We were told that Freedom was going this way."
"You silly people! If you don't go ahead to meet Freedom, you'll never see it..."

People gradually came to understand that they should fight for freedom rather than wait for it.

The struggle for freedom was long and arduous. In Russia, for the first time in history, the political system of society underwent a fundamental change. Russia became a socialist country following the 1917 October Revolution. Since that time the entire life of the Soviet country has been built along socialist principles.

The political and economic systems of socialism provide the basis for new laws, rights and duties of the citizens of the Soviet country, fundamentally differing from the rights and laws of other, non-socialist states. Socialism opened up new horizons for mankind and gave it new moral values and ideals.

The world outlook of Soviet people is focused on building communism, the supreme goal. The interests of Soviet people range, from the origin of life to the exploration of outer space. They have enough knowledge, acquired thanks to socialism, to comprehend, compare and project their own view of things, phenomena and the meaning of human existence. Their convictions rest on scientific knowledge. The Soviet people do not believe in God or in any supernatural forces on which many people throughout the world are still pinning their hopes.

The Soviet people are optimistic and believe in a better future, and they see ways to bring it about. Their world outlook is based on Marxism-Leninism, a doctrine of the revolutionary transformation of society. With the help of this teaching, we know that

the world is in constant motion and that its internal contradictions are merely springs, the natural motive forces of social progress, propelling society from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom.

Marx and Engels wrote in *The German Ideology*: "...The alteration of men on a mass scale is necessary, an alteration which can only take place in a practical movement, a *revolution*; the revolution is necessary, therefore, not only because the *ruling* class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because the class *overthrowing* it can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew."¹

The founders of the revolutionary doctrine foretold the course of history. Today millions of people throughout the world have learned from experience that a society can achieve equality and freedom only if it eliminates the conditions for the exploitation of man by man and the very possibility of anyone building his happiness on the unhappiness of others. The scientific world outlook of Soviet people enables them to form a clear idea of the world, to develop a profound understanding of the mission of man: he is the builder of a new society and fighter for everyone's happiness.

Under socialism the Soviet people overcame poverty, economic chaos, and their age-old backwardness on the basis of the social ownership of the means of production and a planned economy. Today the Soviet Union has developed an industrial, scientific and technological potential enabling it to

¹ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, "The German Ideology", *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 53.

tackle the most complex economic and social tasks. Socialism has proclaimed and is pursuing a truly peaceful foreign policy, making it possible for mankind to break the vicious circle of wars, inevitable for a long time. This is the practical contribution made by existing socialism to the development of a civilisation of a new type.

Those Who Lived Through War Know the Price of Peace

Those who lived through World War II know the price of peace. Those who were lucky to escape its horrors can read about it and come to their own conclusions. Having defeated Hitler's Germany, the Soviet Union asserted its freedom and its right to life and peace.

Many foreign statesmen and public leaders have observed that the 25th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, which took place in Moscow in February-March 1976, was "a congress of detente". The struggle for peace, proletarian internationalism, the friendship of peoples and their free development were unanimously upheld there.

The foundations of Soviet foreign policy were laid down and given a theoretical basis by V. I. Lenin, the founder of the Communist Party and the leader of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Russia was at war with Germany and its allies when the workers and peasants led by the Communist Party accomplished the October Revolution. The war contravened the interests of the working people of Russia and the rest of the world. The Second All-Rus-

sia Congress of Soviets unanimously adopted the Decree on Peace drafted by Lenin on the day after the working people had won power. This was the first official proclamation of peace in human history. It was made by Soviet Russia, a state of a new type which made peaceful development and the flourishing of man and society the main objective of its existence and activity. The Communists regarded wars of aggression as the worst crime against humanity.

This attitude to wars of aggression was a powerful blow at the ideologists and instigators of imperialist wars. The Communist Party which emerged from the midst of the working class, uniting the most progressive people of the time and acting on the laws of history, exposed the mainsprings of imperialist wars. The working people were shown the true purpose of wars unleashed by industrial and financial big-wigs and opted for the Communists, proceeding along the road pointed out by them.

The programme of the Communist Party formulated the initial political and legal principles for building a new society, which was to ensure the true power of the people and to guarantee broad democratic rights and freedoms for all.

Now that the first socialist state had emerged, the ruling circles of the capitalist world could no longer feel at ease. While throughout history, until then, one exploiting system had succeeded another, the Great October Socialist Revolution set the stage for the abolition of the exploiting system as such.

The country of victorious socialism put forth a proposal to the capitalists that they compete peacefully rather than on the battlefield. But capitalism, entangled in its internal contradictions and in the

problems of its economic crises, rejected the realistic and humane proposals of the Soviet Republic and remained true to its intrinsic nature. Its policy consists in conquering foreign territories, enslaving other nations, and in breeding fascist and rascist ideologies. It was that ideology that led to World War II unleashed by nazi Germany.

The Right to Peace for All Peoples

The Soviet Union paid a dear price for victory over nazi Germany and militarist Japan. World War II took a toll of 50 million human lives, including 20 million Soviet people, who bore the brunt of the enemy onslaught. The war was a mortal clash of the old and the new world, of capitalism and socialism. To have given in to the pressure of Hitler's hordes would have meant becoming enslaved, foregoing freedom and losing the first state of workers and peasants, the first socialist country. The nations of Europe also faced a grave threat. Thus the Soviet people made immense sacrifices to save the future of their country, to preserve the ideas of socialism and to uphold life and peace. This is why we cannot help recalling certain facts from those wartime years. Winston Churchill, a one-time leader of the British Conservatives on whose order interventionists began landing on Soviet shores in early March 1918, wrote to Stalin during World War II, when he was Britain's Prime Minister: "The series of prodigious victories ... leaves me without power to express to you

the admiration and gratitude which we feel to Russian arms."¹

Were it not for the USSR, Churchill admitted, the boots of German soldiers might have trodden the ancient soil of Britain. After all, the Hitlerites marched through the squares of Paris, Vienna, Warsaw, Prague, Belgrade, Brussels, Athens and Oslo... As soon as the Führer gave the order to invade one country or another, its rulers would show the white flag and abandon their people to nazi captivity.

The Soviet Union alone braved the nazis' initial superiority in numbers and weapons, despite the fact that almost the whole of Europe was working for the nazi war machine, and overcame the bitterness of initial retreat to stand up to nazism and block the way of the fascists. Mass-scale heroism was demonstrated by soldiers, officers and generals on the battle-fronts and by workers and collective farmers in the country's rear. Russians, Kazakhs, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Letts and all the other Soviet peoples were prepared to lay down their lives to stop the enemy advance and turn the nazis back. This is what happened on the approaches to Moscow, Stalingrad, Brest, Leningrad, Odessa, Sevastopol and many other cities and villages. It was on the Soviet-German fronts that the fate of the enslaved peoples of Poland, France, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Greece, Bulgaria and other countries was decided. The Soviet Union performed its outstanding historical mission because it was standing up not only

¹ Correspondence Between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the Presidents of the U.S.A. and the Prime Ministers of Great Britain During the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1977, p. 99.

for its own social gains and social and state system. It was guided by high objectives: it was defending the future freedom and independence of its own peoples and the peoples of other countries. The world at large rejoiced on learning that fascism had been defeated. The laws of social development are inexorable, and no one can forcibly remake the world, suppress the freedom of nations and infringe on human rights with impunity. The peoples of Europe heaved a sigh of relief after the collapse of nazism.

The consequences of World War II were unexpected as well. The imperialists, of course, did not expect the emergence of new socialist countries or foresee that the sphere of capitalism would shrink and that of socialism expand. They never thought that the popularity of socialism and its peaceful and lofty objectives would catch up so forcefully with the masses.

During the war the peoples of different countries formed an even better idea of the essence of the two social systems. They realised that capitalism was a system breeding armed conflict and social injustice, and gave their sympathies to socialism. While only one socialist country, the USSR, was born as a result of the October Revolution, of which World War I was a catalyst, World War II led to the emergence of the world socialist system.

But capitalism would not be true to its nature if it stopped exploiting the working people, seizing lands belonging to other countries, and plundering and oppressing foreign nations. The overall policy of the ruling circles of the bourgeois countries lies in using every means to prevent the development and consolidation of the new social system and in block-

ing all possibilities for any form of socialism to manifest itself. The capitalist monopolies, controlling the political machinery of the capitalist states, are trying to strangle socialism by ideological means and by organising economic blockades. There have been countless attempts to put an end to socialism, while the socialist ideas and the existing socialism ushered in by the October 1917 Revolution in Russia are marching from one continent to another, defying imperialist opposition.

The direction of world development is clear to every sensible and unbiased person. It transpires through all complexities and controversial developments: socialism is growing stronger, building its potential and greatly increasing its political and ideological influence on the broad masses of the working people, on the philosophers, public leaders and statesmen of today's world.

The peoples of the world are attracted to socialism because it embodies freedom, peace, and political and social rights. Socialist society has no other objectives except those of protecting public interests and satisfying the material, cultural and intellectual needs of all members of society to an ever growing extent. The foreign policy of socialism is a policy aimed at strengthening peace and international security. This is why millions of people in non-socialist countries are coming to share the objectives of the Soviet Communist Party and support its programme for economic and social progress and its peace-loving foreign policy.

The West slanders socialism and concocts atrocious lies about it. The great truth is, however, that socialism has wrung society from the captivity of

economic chaos and social inequality, and has ensured a rapid growth in the national economy and a steady rise in the living standards of the population. It has emancipated the masses spiritually and politically and involved them in free and constructive activities. It has brought about a democracy of a fundamentally new type, socialist democracy, which both proclaims and practically guarantees the broadest possible rights to people and provides every condition for their mass-scale and active participation in the administration of the affairs of society in different forms and at all levels. With the might, moral and political unity, and patriotism and internationalism of their peoples, the socialist-community states prevent imperialism from achieving world domination and plunging the world into a new catastrophe.

The Soviet people firmly and confidently raise their voice in defence of peace both in their own country and at international forums. Speaking on July 31, 1975, at the Helsinki Conference, Leonid Brezhnev expressed the opinion of all delegates and the progressive forces of the world when he said: "The right to peace must be secured for all the peoples of Europe. We stand, of course, for securing that right for all the other peoples of our planet as well."¹ These words summarise Soviet foreign policy and the aspirations of all the honest people of the world.

Facts Against Fiction

The Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe provides for the follow-

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1975, p. 578.

ing principles: sovereign equality, the non-use of force or threat of force, the inviolability of borders, territorial integrity, the peaceful settlement of disputes, non-intervention in internal affairs, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, equality and the right of nations to decide their destinies, and fulfilment in good faith of one's obligations under international law.

Detente and the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, as the 25th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party reaffirmed, applied to inter-state relations. This means, above all, that disputes and conflicts between countries should not be resolved by war or by the threat or use of force. Before agreeing to subscribe to these principles, the West had spent many years doing everything possible to reject the Soviet foreign-policy course which had been worked out by Lenin and was based on the historical inevitability of states with different social systems having to exist simultaneously for a long period of history.

The imperialists never gave up their idea of crushing the socialist system. They tried to destroy the Soviet country by various means:

1. by using military intervention. We remember both the armed intervention of foreign powers in our country in the early months of Soviet government and the perfidious attack of Nazi Germany in June 1941. It is common knowledge that the designs of the Entente and the Nazis fell through and that socialism withstood all trials and is developing successfully;

2. by using diplomatic isolation. There was a time when the Western countries ostracised Soviet Rus-

sia. History has played a joke on these short-sighted politicians. Today almost all the countries in the world maintain relations with the Soviet Union, and when it comes to policy-making none of them can disregard the attitude of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community;

3. by using an economic blockade. The enemies of socialism strove to strangle the revolution through hunger: they refused to help the young Soviet Republic when severe drought resulted in several of the country's granaries having crop failures. The imperialist powers wanted to turn the USSR into their raw materials appendage and therefore rejected Soviet requests for supplies of machinery and equipment in exchange for timber, oil, flax, furs, ore and coal. But socialism survived, defeated all schemes and difficulties, and continues on its road;

4. by building up their military might and by creating aggressive military and political blocs directed against the USSR. But countering the imperialist threat, the Soviet Union developed a military industry of its own within a short time and demonstrated its ability to repel such attacks as Hitler's invasion. Having learned the lesson of history, ruling circles in the West began to check themselves and to talk to the Soviet Union as to an equal; moreover, many militarist alliances and pacts, such as the Baghdad Pact, went up in smoke.

The enemies of socialism and peaceful coexistence have been trying other foreign-policy ploys as well. But what has been said above is enough to realise that the West's "sanctions" and its threats against the country governed by the people have come to

nothing. The country behind the "iron curtain", as the Soviet Union was once maliciously called, did well without Western aid, developed its economic potential independently and even outpaced the USA in certain respects.

All this gives plentiful food for thought. For instance, why did certain Western countries refuse until recently to sell such a "strategically sensitive product" as grain to the Soviet Union? This inhuman measure did not cause hunger in the country: even when the USSR was hit by droughts, bread, milk, meat, sugar and fish prices were never raised.

And why did they impose an embargo on automated machine tools? Western politicians maintained that the "aggressive Russians" would use this equipment to manufacture modern weapons. Much to the surprise of quite a few Westerners, thinking the USSR, a "backward" country, the Russians were able to outpace everyone and put into orbit a spaceship, *Vostok*, carrying a Russian lad from the provincial town of Gzhatsk. Afterwards the Soviet spaceman Yuri Gagarin went round the world, conquering people's hearts with his feat and charming smile.

When any tourist or businessman "infiltrated" through the "iron curtain", they realised the worth of the anti-Soviet propaganda carried on for years on end by the Western press. Indeed, it turned out that Communists were sitting side by side with non-party people in parliament, and that they did not get extra pay because they belonged to the Communist Party. It also transpired that members of the ruling party were working, like many non-party people, in workshops, in the fields, at farms and in design of

fices. They taught children at schools, visited patients at their homes and brought them medicine (free of charge), drove engines and piloted planes. These were the people who made up the "elite" and the "ruling class"!

Indeed, socialism is performing its historical mission. Today even its sworn enemies can no longer pass over in silence the changes brought about by the existing socialist community. Recognition of the new social system and its outstanding achievements is an inexorable and irreversible process. Just as the world socialist community would have been inconceivable without the existence of the Soviet Union, the revolutionary victories of the peoples of Cuba, Vietnam, Laos, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, South Yemen, Iran, Afghanistan, Nicaragua and other states would never have been won if existing socialism had not set these peoples an example.

Existing socialism is doing and will continue to do everything possible to prevent war and exclude it from international relations, and to safeguard and strengthen universal peace. The socialist states have always based their foreign policies on the assumption that there are not only fundamental differences but also spheres of common interest between the socialist and capitalist countries.

All peoples, regardless of their social systems, have an interest in preventing war, achieving disarmament, reducing military spending and effectively using the benefits accrued from the international division of labour.

All peoples have an interest in the rational development of the resources of the world's oceans and in protecting the environment.

All peoples have an interest in solving the problems of energy and raw materials.

And, of course, mankind is aware of the ways mass hunger and disease can be eliminated.

But their solution is impossible in an atmosphere of hostility. They can only be solved through peaceful economic cooperation. Guided by humanistic objectives, the countries of the socialist community have assumed the historic initiative and jointly drafted a realistic programme for restructuring international relations. Their purpose is to prevent the political, economic or ideological differences between the capitalist and socialist countries from leading to armed conflict, much less to war.

"There Is a Force More Powerful Than the Wishes..."

The road from confrontation to cooperation has been long and arduous. The Soviet Union, the other countries of the socialist community, the international communist and working-class movement and the whole of progressive humanity are making tremendous efforts to consistently pursue a firm policy of peace. The peoples of the world are demanding ever more insistently that the threat of atomic war be eliminated, that the "hot spots" around the world be stamped out, that an end be put to the revanchist policy of revising the European borders which resulted from the defeat of nazi Germany. The tasks of improving the political climate, strengthening peace and the security of all nations and extending cooperation

between all countries, regardless of their social systems, are gaining increasing prominence.

The way to develop relations between states with different political systems was described by Lenin in the early years of the Soviet government, when the young Soviet Republic was encircled by hostile troops and faced an economic blockade, ideological slander and subversion. "There is a force more powerful than the wishes, the will and the decisions of any of the governments or classes that are hostile to us. That force is world general economic relations,"¹ he pointed out. Lenin believed that the principle of peaceful coexistence would underlie state-to-state relations between opposite social systems throughout the period of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism.

Compare the world in the World War II period with that of the 1970s, and you will see that the domination of capital has been eliminated over vast expanses of the globe. The socialist countries, the countries which have gained independence and embarked on the road to independent development, and the progressive community display a high degree of organisation, and their influence is a strong force preventing the outbreak of another world war.

The Soviet Union with its economic might also stands in the way of another war. It is backed up by the socialist-community countries, whose positions have markedly consolidated and whose concerted policy has begun exerting a far-greater influence on international developments. Attempts to unleash another war are being countered by the principle of

peaceful coexistence, essential for the world's development.

Socialism has fundamentally altered the approach taken to the problems of war and peace and to the search for ways to ensure international security. The Soviet Union advocates the settlement of conflicts by peaceful means, through negotiations, the complete renunciation of territorial conquests and economic and cultural cooperation with countries belonging to different social systems, to promote the progress of all nations. This concept of ensuring peace and international security meets the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the world's population. Socialism is not going to respond to any militarist challenge or provocation. The Soviet strategy of peace is unshakeable. We know that it is this strategy that ensures man's right to life and paves the most reliable way to a peaceful future for all mankind.

This is why the CPSU and the Communist and Workers' parties of the countries of the socialist community proclaim peace as the supreme goal of their foreign policies.

This is why the Soviet people are consistently and tirelessly foiling militarists' schemes and the plans of reactionary and imperialist forces.

This is why the Soviet Union, along with the parties and political leaders of other countries, strongly condemns the activities of the Chinese leaders, who have actually institutionalised war preparations. This policy fundamentally contradicts the nature and interests of socialism, and also the interests of the Chinese people themselves and the other peoples of the world. This policy is countered by the move-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 155.

ment for detente, which is wholeheartedly supported by the peoples of all countries and on all continents.

There are those in the West who try to use detente to the detriment of peaceful aspirations, and to peddle the idea that there can be no peaceful coexistence between different social systems without the peaceful coexistence of ideologies. But ideological confrontation is an objective historical process which reflects the struggle between classes. It cannot be abolished or stopped while different classes exist with irreconcilable interests.

Ideologies are shaped by economic systems. One is based on private property, the other on social ownership of the means of production. Some countries develop along free enterprise lines, others on the basis of socialist economic planning. The system adopted by some countries consolidates and enriches a minority by exploiting the majority and suppressing its rights and freedoms; while the economies of the countries belonging to the opposite system are run by the people themselves so as to meet the material and cultural needs of all members of society. Both systems display the results of their development, make their plans public and speak about the future they promise their peoples. One cannot help comparing the two systems. Capitalism is going through a deep crisis, inflation and unemployment, while the socialist countries are rapidly developing their economies, raising the living standards of the population and ensuring full employment.

The contrast between the economic development of the capitalist and the socialist countries gives rise to viewpoints which are at opposite ends of the

spectrum of ideology and politics.

The ideologists of capitalism ignore the growth and strengthening of the socialist countries and are looking for facts, however trifling, to help them besmirch socialism as an economic system in the eyes of their peoples. One can say or write anything one wishes, of course. For instance, the Peking leaders, who have teamed up with the imperialist forces in the West, have gone so far as to say that the socialist camp is non-existent. But despite the chauvinistic demagogic of the Maoists, the socialist community is thriving and growing stronger.

Socialism cannot be eclipsed any more than the eastward course of the Sun can be reversed. Many generations of people have dreamt about socialism, and it has finally come true. It is developing and growing stronger, and its ideas and practical achievements are attracting the attention of millions of working people all over the world. In proposing peaceful coexistence to capitalism, socialism is in no way displaying a fear for its future. There are no grounds for such a fear today. The strength of socialism, both economic and military, has grown so markedly that today it is a match for the imperialist blocs. If we add to this the striving of millions of people all over the globe for peace, it becomes obvious that socialism and the other peace-loving forces are superior to imperialism. This means that war can be averted. Mankind thinks about higher objectives today, such as reducing military spending and redirecting it to constructive purposes.

Problems facing the whole of mankind, such as the provision of food, health care and housing for the population and raw materials and energy for

industry, have lately become particularly acute. Man's environment may become gravely endangered. If we put off solving these crucial problems the situation will only become worse.

Whichever way you look at it, there is but one alternative: either the world calls a halt to the arms race, thus securing lasting peace and the possibility of coming to grips with the problems of economic development, or it allows the flywheel of war preparations to gain momentum, depriving peoples of their national wealth and pushing the world towards catastrophe.

The economic and technological potential of a state is a tangible force, and it is important who controls it and for what purpose it is used. Controlled by imperialism, it is a source of military danger; controlled by socialism, it has become a means of ensuring peace and reducing the threat of war.

Adherence to peace is an intrinsic feature of the socialist system and the resultant political course pursued by it. We would like people in the non-socialist part of the world to know and understand this, and to sincerely believe that the Soviet Union, together with all the socialist countries and other democratic forces, is doing everything possible to prevent world war. Peace and mutually beneficial cooperation are the road that socialism follows.

Ever since socialist states came into being, each of them independently and all of them together have worked for peace and against war. They make numerous and diverse proposals intended to strengthen peace and localise armed conflicts.

Since the emergence of the world socialist system, the economies of all the socialist countries have been

markedly civilian. The growth rates of these economies gladden the peoples and amaze all champions of social progress. If we take 1950 as 100 per cent, the growth rate in industrial output by the end of 1978 was 6.6 per cent for the whole world, 4.8 per cent for the developed capitalist countries, and 9.6 per cent for the socialist states. As for the USSR, even before 1971 it produced more pig iron, iron, manganese and chromium ore, coal, coke, cement, potassium salts, tractors, diesel and electric engines and flax than any other country, while during the ninth five-year plan period it also assumed the lead in the production of steel, oil and mineral fertilisers. The US has taken 16 years to double its industrial production, France 17 years, West Germany 18 years, and Britain 29 years, whereas the Soviet Union has taken just 10 years. Such development rates are ensured by the planned socialist economy whose main objective is meeting man's vital needs. It is in this sense that the Soviet Union, like all the other socialist-community countries, guarantee political, economic and social rights and freedoms to their citizens.

The dynamic growth in the economies of the socialist countries is ensured by several factors, among them:

- the organisational system of cooperation. Committees of the CMEA countries for cooperation in economic planning, material and technical supply, and intergovernmental scientific, technical, economic and other organisations have been set up and are successfully functioning;

- cooperation in planning as the foundation of the international socialist division of labour. About

160 joint forecasts for individual branches of the national economies have been drafted, and a multilateral integration measures plan for 1976-80 has been carried out. It provided for the joint construction of major projects costing about 9,000 million transferable roubles, the extension of international cooperation and specialisation of production, mostly in machine-building and chemicals, and the joint tackling of key scientific and technical problems;

— the extension of international specialisation and cooperation of production. In machine-building alone there are about 50 agreements covering over 6,000 production items. As a result, marked changes are taking place in the structures of the national economies of the participating countries. For instance, Hungary has developed a powerful bus-making industry and is exporting about eighty per cent of the buses it produces to the CMEA countries;

— the meeting of the over-growing requirements of socialist countries in major types of energy, fuel and raw materials. A master scheme for a unified power grid of the interested European CMEA countries is being drafted today. Of primary importance in this is the Vinnitsa-Albertirsa 750 kv power transmission line between the USSR and Hungary, which is now under construction. The aggregate capacity of the atomic power stations in the CMEA countries amounts to 7.5 million kw. Oil flows constantly to the European socialist countries via the Druzhba (Friendship) international oil pipeline, and 15,500 million cubic metres of natural gas is delivered each year to these countries by a major gas pipeline built, by joint efforts, between Orenburg and the Western border of the USSR;

— fruitful development of scientific and technological cooperation. Some 1,600 R & D organisations in the CMEA countries including 200 research institutions attached to their Academies of Sciences, are taking part in this on a broad multilateral basis. More than 80 multilateral scientific and technical agreements have been concluded, and 47 research coordination centres, as well as international research teams and joint R & D organisations and laboratories are functioning.

The implementation of the Comprehensive Programme for socialist economic integration has supplied remarkable proof of the realistic nature and historical significance of this agreement. The dynamic economic growth of the CMEA countries has been assured, and a vast experience in cooperation accumulated, providing a basis for further growth in the well-being of all the nations making up the socialist community.

Interest in cooperating with CMEA is growing in many countries. Finland, Iraq and Mexico have signed agreements on cooperation with CMEA. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance has proposed the EEC to conclude an agreement on the basic principles of mutual relations between CMEA and the European Economic Community.

The Soviet people profoundly believe that the existence of two world systems, capitalism and socialism, should not interfere with the relaxation of tension and the assertion of the principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

The "Nuclear Sword" and Peaceful Coexistence

Having translated the dream of socialism into reality, the Communists are protecting it as the great goal of all peoples signifying freedom and equality. The safeguarding of existing socialism and its policies has one more important aspect, namely, the question of war and peace, of human rights and freedoms. The working people of the socialist countries believe that war can be averted, whereas facts show that the imperialist states have not given up the idea of using war to decide the argument between the two social systems. This is vividly illustrated by the policy of the NATO countries, the escalation of the military budgets of the capitalist states, the development of ever new types of weapons, and the brainwashing of the Western public. What is the Western falsification of Soviet foreign policy and the hue and cry about "the threat of Soviet invasion" if not preparation for possible aggression against the socialist countries? All these concoctions are intended to delude and scare the ordinary people and to create an atmosphere in which it is easier to overcome opposition to war.

The ideology and class objectives of socialism and capitalism are opposite and irreconcilable, but this in no way means that the ideological and social differences between the two systems should lead to wars and dangerous conflicts.

International relations today are at the crossroads; they may follow the road of growing mutual fears and suspicions and the accumulation of armaments,

or at best to balancing on the brink of war. Detente gives a realistic opportunity to take the road to peace, and to miss it would be criminal. Today, it is the most important and pressing task to stop the arms race engulfing the world.

It should be clear that if the bus is missed, we may in some, highly important, areas reach a line of no return, beyond which the chance of concluding effective arms control agreements would be altogether forfeited, because some of the types of weapons now being developed simply defy control owing to quantity and to their specific quality characteristics.

The progress of science and technology, presumably called upon to benefit humanity, is, regrettably, being used ever more extensively to develop new means of destruction. Hardly an agreement on controlling one type of weaponry is reached when two or three even more dangerous ones appear.

This is why the Soviet Union has proposed a radical step—an agreement between all states on the simultaneous termination of the production of nuclear weapons. The Soviet proposal covers all types of nuclear weapons, including atomic, thermonuclear and neutron bombs and warheads. Simultaneously the nuclear powers could take it on themselves to start scaling down their stockpiles of nuclear weapons.

All true advocates of peaceful coexistence welcome the fact that the Soviet proposals centre on the very essence of the problem. A ban should be imposed on nuclear weapons, and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are making efforts to ensure that belief in the strength of the "nuclear sword" gives

way to belief in people's common sense and the possibility of peaceful development.

The world sighed with relief when, on June 18, 1979, the leaders of the USSR and the USA put their signatures to the Strategic Offensive Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II). This was a major step towards peace.

The Soviet Union is calling for a halt to the arms race, for more stable and fruitful relations between states of the opposite systems, for steps to end the production of nuclear weapons, to gradually reduce their stockpiles to the point of their final elimination, and to prohibit the development of any new types and systems of mass destruction weapons.

The strength of Soviet foreign policy lies in the fact that it meets the vital interests of both socialist countries and the overwhelming majority of the world population, above all the peoples who have thrown off the colonial yoke and are engaged in the arduous work of building a new life and consolidating their independence. They need, as much as the socialist countries do, a lasting peace, strict respect for the sovereignty of states and the rights of nations, and truly equal international relations.

The peoples of the USSR highly appreciate mutually beneficial cooperation among nations and respect their rights; we do not crave their riches, nor seek military bases on their soil. We value the fact that we have attitudes in common on many international issues, but do not try to dictate to them what policy they should pursue. The smaller imperialism's chances to lord it over other countries and nations, the fiercer its more aggressive and shortsighted proponents react. This aggressiveness can only be checked

by the power and realistic policy of the peace-loving states and the resolve of the peoples to thwart the dangerous plans of those claiming world domination. As before, the great economic and military might of the Soviet Union is being used to neutralise the forces of war and to safeguard and consolidate world peace. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union gives people security and provides a possibility for working people in all countries and on all continents to gain more extensive political rights and freedoms.

The Soviet Union is not going to relinquish any of the constructive achievements in international affairs of the 1970s. Moreover, the Soviet Union believes that progress in this field is a must. This concerns curbing the arms race, stamping out conflicts in Southeast Asia, and the Near and Middle East, and turning the Indian Ocean into a peace zone, as the coastal states suggest. The Soviet people are prepared to follow any road leading to a lasting peace and cooperation between states with different social systems, a road which makes it possible to extend the rights and freedoms of the peoples.

The Main Guarantee of Rights and Freedoms

World history has seen quite a few movements of the working people for their rights and freedoms. Such movements are inevitable in a society divided into classes. The exploiters, protecting their interests, enslave the people, while the working class fights arbitrariness and oppression and upholds human rights. The exploiters have used the idea of human rights and freedoms to their advantage on more than

one occasion. Paying lip service to rights and freedoms, they have been camouflaging their class domination, trying to win over the masses of the working people to their side while actually masking their ambitions for stepping up exploitation.

Documents validating human rights and freedoms were produced after a hard-fought struggle. In 1776 the USA proclaimed its Declaration of Independence, regarded by Marx as "the first declaration of human rights".¹ Thirteen years later, in 1789, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen was adopted in France. Rights were defined as natural, inalienable and sacred. But each of those much-publicised rights was used in a way suitable to the dominant classes.

The 20th century produced a history-making example of genuine human rights and freedoms in the Great October Socialist Revolution. It not only granted these rights but also ensured guarantees for them. While in bourgeois society freedom is based on private property, capital, and the exploitation of the working class, and while the absolutisation of freedom conceals in every way its class-based nature, Marxism-Leninism formulates a scientific and objective notion of human rights and freedoms: they depend on the position of classes in the system of social production and also on the form of ownership. Under socialism the means of production belong to the people, who enjoy all possible rights and freedoms. In this way socialism ushered in a qualitatively new stage in the evolution of freedom and democracy. It is only after October 1917 that "de-

mocracy has revealed itself for the first time in its true meaning, that is, as the power of the people. For the first time real civil and political equality of rights has been won by those who never experienced it under any exploitative system—the working people. For the first time the principles of democracy have been extended to all spheres of the life of society, including its basis—production relations."¹

This democracy is not merely a declaration, but a revolution in the sphere of rights and freedoms. It produced a new historical basis for understanding the dialectics of freedom and broke the narrow framework within which its meaning and contents used to be defined.

Socialist democracy abolishes the freedom of exploitation and ensures the true emancipation of the working people from all forms of social oppression and national and racial discrimination; and provides the objective conditions for realising and developing all man's talents and capabilities regardless of social status. History has forcefully borne out that existing socialism is the genuine bulwark of freedom in today's world.

The Soviet people are confident of their future because their country is following a policy of peaceful construction, further developing its vast expanses of land and increasing its material, intellectual and cultural resources.

The Communist Party tackles economic problems in relation to comprehensive social goals, regarding the economy as part and parcel of the entire system

¹ Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Vol. 16, Berlin, 1968, p. 18.

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Our Course: Peace and Socialism*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, p. 201.

of relations in society. This trend became particularly clear cut in the seventies.

The hallmark of this period was the further consolidation of the unity and cohesion of Soviet society. This ideological and political unity is reflected in ever closer links between the party and the people. Social unity is represented by an unshakeable alliance of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, by the community of fundamental interests of all social strata and groups, by the gradual obliteration of substantial distinctions between the town and countryside, and between manual and mental work. The unity between the big and small nations of the Soviet Union demonstrates itself in the close interfacing of Soviet patriotism and internationalism, in the development of an integral national economic complex, and in the dynamic economic growth of all the national republics.

"The cohesion and unity of society is a unique achievement of socialism, our invaluable and insuperable strength," Leonid Brezhnev has pointed out. "Of course, the imperialists have missiles, as we do. They, like us, have plentiful natural resources. They also have talented scientists, engineers and artists. But they do not, nor can they have, a united society. So let our adversaries remember what history teaches. Let them know that the unity of the Soviet people makes itself felt particularly strongly at a time when anyone tries to talk to them in the language of threats."¹

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, "Speech to the Baumansky District Constituents in Moscow", *Pravda*, Feb. 23, 1980.

The peoples should clearly realise who poses a threat to their vital interests and encroaches on their right to peace, and who is working to promote peace and human freedoms. All this is forcefully demonstrated in the documents of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Countries, which took place in Poland in May 1980.

The declaration adopted at the meeting says that the international situation remains tense and that the threat to peace and detente has grown considerably. All this is a direct consequence of further activising the policy of "a position of strength", a policy of confrontation and hegemonism being pursued by the leadership of the USA and other NATO countries. Bent on achieving military superiority, the North Atlantic alliance is building up its military potential and spurring on the arms race, thereby creating the risk of dramatically aggravating the situation in Europe and elsewhere. This is the policy the imperialist powers are pursuing.

The foreign-policy programme of the socialist countries is very different. Theirs is a profoundly democratic policy which meets the innermost interests of mankind, as is borne out once more by the Warsaw declaration. This document is pervaded with realism, with a constructive approach and a striving for mutual understanding and cooperation. It pays particular attention to a problem of special concern to the Europeans, namely, the safeguarding and consolidation of the peace which they have enjoyed for the last 35 years. Military detente and disarmament in Europe therefore are of primary importance.

The declaration contains a well-detailed programme of measures which will make it possible to raise

an insurmountable obstacle in the way of another war.

This constructive approach to international problems drastically differs from the dangerous plans for whipping up the arms race that were discussed at the time at a special session of the NATO Council in Brussels.

The two alliances display two diametrically opposite policies: one is directed at promoting peace, while the other aims at destroying it.

The Warsaw meeting strongly warned against the policy of military ventures and feverish war preparations.

Statesmen, governments, parliaments and all public forces aware of their responsibility to their own peoples and the peoples of the world should make every effort to preclude the possibility of another war and to set up an inviolable barrier against it. An analysis of the existing situation shows that it is necessary, above all, to concentrate these efforts in the following directions:

— to reach an agreement in good faith that from a certain date no state or grouping of states in Europe should increase the numerical strength of their armed forces in the area defined by the Final Act of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation. This measure would help consolidate constructive developments on the continent and became a milestone on the road to stronger stability and greater mutual trust in Europe;

— to observe unwaveringly all the provisions of the Final Act of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation, formally signed in Helsinki by the leaders of 35 states. This applies, first and

foremost, to the principles which the states participating in the European conference pledged to follow in their mutual relations, such as sovereign equality and respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty; non-use of force or threat of its use; the inviolability of borders; the territorial integrity of states; the peaceful settlement of disputes; non-intervention in the internal affairs of states; respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; the equality of nations and their right to decide their own destinies; cooperation among states, and fulfillment by them in good faith of their obligations under international law;

— to consider the most immediate practical tasks to end the arms race to be the early and successful completion of talks on the universal and complete prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, on banning radiological weapons, on prohibiting chemical weapons and eliminating their stockpiles, on the non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states which do not have them on their territory and the non-placement of nuclear weapons on the territories of states which do not have them at the moment; along with the ratification of the Soviet-US Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (SALT II);

— to start without delay practical talks on the following outstanding measures towards ending the arms race and removing the threat of war: the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force and treaties to end the production of nuclear weapons and gradually reduce stockpiles of these weapons to the point of their being completely eliminated; on prohibiting the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction; and on reduc-

ing the military budgets of major powers first and foremost. These measures have been proposed by the socialist states on many occasions and are supported by the United Nations but are not yet the subject of any on-going talks;

— to begin examining, possibly within the UN framework, ways to limit and reduce levels of military presence and military activity in certain areas, such as the Atlantic, the Indian or the Pacific Ocean, the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf; so as to promote peace and a stabler international situation and to provide for the reliable and unhindered use of major international sea communications;

— to press ahead with fresh efforts on an international scale to achieve the prohibition for all time of the use of nuclear weapons, the renunciation by all states of the use of force in their relations with each other, the dismantling of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of troops from foreign territories, a reduction in armed forces and armaments, and the establishment of nuclear-free and peace zones in various parts of the world, including Europe.

The future is being built today, and it depends on the decisions that states are going to take, both individually and collectively, on outstanding international problems. In taking these decisions, these states should bear in mind that it meets the common interests of all countries and nations to proceed from the territorial and political realities which took shape in Europe as a consequence of the great victory over nazism in World War II, taking post-war developments into account too, and similarly it meets the interests of all to promote the consolidation of inter-

national law on the basis of the principles and goals of the UN Charter.

Any global or regional problem can be settled given good will and an objective approach to all problems. But it is by political means and not through diktat or violence that each of these problems should be settled. Aware as they are of their great responsibility, the states and peoples of the world are capable of safeguarding and strengthening peace and putting into practice mankind's aspirations for freedom and progress.

It is very important to make the ideas of the European conference workable. First, people become aware that the achievement of disarmament is a realistic possibility; second, practical steps towards disarmament open prospects for consolidating the principles of peaceful coexistence, and mankind is growing more and more convinced that different social systems can coexist without war, and can fruitfully cooperate in all spheres of social progress, thus providing important guarantees for human rights and freedoms.

No state or government can have any plausible justification for avoiding talks on these problems. It would be against the common interests of mankind to miss an opportunity to settle them.

Soviet people see the practical results of their creative activities in all spheres of the economy and culture; they provide a good foundation and strong impetus for fresh advances. Whatever we have achieved has been done under the leadership of the Communist Party. The party's policy reflects in the best possible way the development needs of Soviet society. Today they consist first and foremost in inten-

sifying production, raising its efficiency, improving the quality of work, ensuring a further rise in living standards and strengthening the might of the Soviet country.

The economic potential of the socialist state and its further advances are the main guarantee of the real rights and freedoms enjoyed by the Soviet people. The principles of social freedom are explicitly formulated in the Soviet Constitution: "The free development of each is the condition of the free development of all." The Soviet state aims at extending the practical economic and social conditions necessary for the all-round development of the individual.

Socialism alone ensures comprehensive rights and freedoms for the working people; it is in their hands that all political power is concentrated; they are the true masters of their country and therefore of their historical destiny.

Цена 70 к.



Fyodor Medvedev Gennady Kulikov